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TIME

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SPLITTING AT&T

Who Wins, Who Loses — And Why

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In the BMW 318i, however, high performance is not dependent on adornments designed to transport you back to your childhood.

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It results from a fully independent suspension that's been the recipient of three generations of refinements, as well as praise like this: "Its handling and roadholding are magnificent" (Car and Driver).

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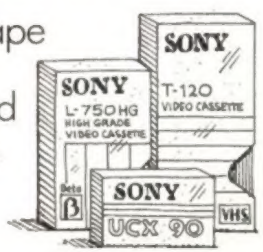

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NOVEMBER 21, 1983 Vol. 122 No. 22 **TIME** THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

This week's cover story, on the impending breakup of A T & T and the telecommunications revolution that is both a part and a result of this event, was written by Associate Editor John S. DeMott and reported largely by New York–based Correspondent Bruce van Voorst. A nine-year veteran of TIME who specializes in business and economics stories, DeMott was particularly pleased with the assignment because it permitted him to deal with a lifelong passion. "I've been fascinated by communications ever since I was a kid with two tin cans and a taut string between them," he says. "When I was ten, I got my own $10.95 telecommunications network: two battery-powered toy telephones that a friend and I rigged between our houses." DeMott soon graduated to more complicated gadgets, setting up telegraph keys with a teen-age friend and building electronic devices from six Heathkits, including his own ham radio rig, stereo and FM tuner. More recently he installed cordless telephones in his New York City apartment and in his country house in the Catskills. "I'm almost as interested in how people communicate as in what is communicated," says DeMott. "My father was a newspaperman, and I remember vividly being in his office as a child and watching the wirephotos coming in seemingly out of nowhere."

HUGH PATRICK BROWN

DeMott, left, and Taber use modern communications

Business Editor George M. Taber, who edited the cover story, has had a continuing interest in the information revolution, especially in bringing it about at TIME. Over the past several years, the magazine has employed more and more of the new communications equipment, gradually computerizing the phases of production, from distributing correspondents' dispatches to transmitting completed pages for printing, and linking them by phone lines and satellites. Under Taber's supervision, the Business section was the first editorial department, in 1981, to go all-electronic, researching, writing, editing and sending stories to print with a minimum of paper handling. Taber has added an important refinement to the system. He helped work out a procedure that links his home computer to TIME's mainframe unit, enabling him to make late weekend changes in stories without a three-hour round trip between his home in Princeton, N.J., and New York City. Says he: "This is what the communications revolution discussed in our cover story is all about."

John a. Meyer

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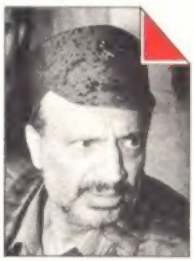

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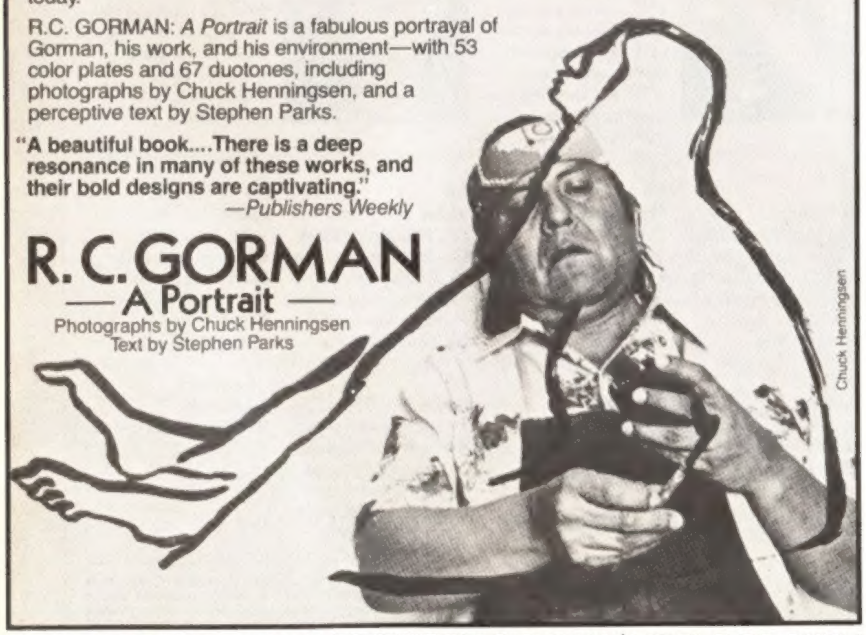
Who is R. C. Gorman?

Bumperstickers throughout the Southwest pose this question, and the answer is complex. He's the Native American in touch with his heritage, the celebrity profiled in *People* magazine, the gifted painter behind memorable images of Indian women, and perhaps the best-selling artist in America today.

R.C. GORMAN: *A Portrait* is a fabulous portrayal of Gorman, his work, and his environment—with 53 color plates and 67 duotones, including photographs by Chuck Henningsen, and a perceptive text by Stephen Parks.

"A beautiful book....There is a deep resonance in many of these works, and their bold designs are captivating."
—Publishers Weekly



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TIME

Letters

Carnage in Beirut

To the Editors:

To be successful, a peace-keeping force must work with opposing groups who want peace. This is not the case in Lebanon [Oct. 31]. It makes as much sense to keep Americans in Lebanon as it would have to station British forces along the Mason-Dixon line at the beginning of the American Civil War.

John McPhillips
Las Vegas

Another Sunday, another sneak attack and another day of infamy.

Mary Kelly Walsh
Oak Park, Ill.

When the Government puts a young man into a situation where he might die, it is obliged to protect him with all the resources at its command. This was not done in Lebanon.

Donald Davis
Crown Point, Ind.

The massacre in Lebanon has caused me to understand Menachem Begin. I have finally come to realize that Israel really is surrounded by murderous neighbors.

Donald R. Schindel
Chicago

Forget about finding out who drove the truck into the U.S. Marine compound. Forget about finding out who provided the driver. More important, discover where the munitions were manufactured and who sold them. The real international terrorists are those who supply arms to fanatics.

Robert A. Heaton Jr.
Muskegon, Mich.

The U.S. military demands billions of dollars from the taxpayers for high-technology equipment and sophisticated armaments, yet fails to come through with basic security for its fighting men. It seems that there are many more bucks than brains in the Pentagon.

Gisele A. Greenhaw
Houston

As in Viet Nam, our commitment in Lebanon is based on honorable intentions and poor judgment. The major difference is that in Viet Nam there were only two contending sides; in Lebanon there are many. If the Lebanese wish to kill one another, we must let them. It is their country and their choice.

Samuel R. Kaplan
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Incompetence! Incompetence! Shocking incompetence!

James M. Hoy
Houston

Yankee, come home.

Robert W. Agler
Delray Beach, Fla.

A few weeks ago, our teacher suggested that we each write a letter to a Marine stationed in Lebanon, expressing our appreciation for their peace-keeping efforts. Most of us tried to include recent news, trivia and information about the latest movies. When we learned that many of

these Marines had been killed, the violence in a far-off land suddenly became a reality.

Aaron Milstone
Lathrup Village, Mich.

Middle Easterners have been fighting one another and everyone else for 6,000 years. It is arrogant to think that we can bring a lasting peace to the area.

Myra Catherina Souby
Houston

President Reagan's assertion that the Marines are in Lebanon to protect vital Western interests clarifies their role. In that light, however, they can no longer be perceived as "angels of peace" but as agents of a Western-dominated solution. Thus it becomes quite easy to understand why the peace keepers have become targets for those opposed to a settlement on the West's terms.

Alan P. Stopper
Bisbee, Ariz.

We must not let our anger and sadness control our better judgment. Removing our troops would only strengthen the hand of the barbaric forces struggling for control of Lebanon. Remember, these groups are supported and protected by Syria, which is heavily supplied by the Soviet Union.

Salvatore Garofalo
Middletown, Conn.

No commanding officer permits "sleep-ins" in a combat zone. No commanding officer fails to permit sentries to have loaded weapons. No commanding officer fails to secure adequately all approaches to a vulnerable position. The commanding officers in Beirut failed in their responsibilities to their men, their President and their country.

Robert A. Palko
North Caldwell, N.J.

Holiday for King

This tenth national holiday in honor of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. [Oct. 31] will in no way force white America to love black America. But now Americans will be able to pay homage to George Washington, the Father of Our Country, and to King, the Father of Equal Rights.

Arthur A. Mauge
Brooklyn

As supporters of the King holiday bill, we thank Senator Jesse Helms for helping to secure the bill's passage. Helms reminded us by his behavior of the freedoms the Rev. Dr. King fought for. Once Helms made this so obvious to his colleagues, the Senate agreed to set aside a day when we celebrate our freedom from racism, bigotry and persecution. Thank you, Senator Helms!

Retta and Charles Gray
Winston-Salem, N.C.

We need a holiday to honor the civil rights leader but do not need another day off for federal employees. We should have set aside a Sunday to show honor for the Rev. Dr. King.

Barry Bradley
San Antonio

A day in January was established as a national holiday because King was a black man. I find this disturbing. With due respect to his accomplishments, the emphasis on his race as a consideration is a case of racism in reverse. This could have been counteracted if another great man, like Abraham Lincoln, had been added for his role as the emancipator. Together, the two men could have been honored by the same national holiday, to be called a human rights day.

Abe Kalan
Denver

We have 22 intelligent Senators who had the guts to vote against the multimillion-dollar King holiday. The rest are nothing but self-centered, self-serving politicians who hold their own personal interests in winning re-election above the good of the country.

Hope Bisbing
Brigham City, Utah

Regardless of Jesse Helms' motives, he has expressed a concern about an additional national holiday that many in this

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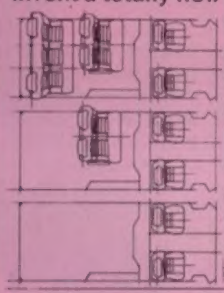
The 1984 Toyota Van. We call it WonderWagon. You'll call it terrific. Leave it to Toyota to invent a totally new concept in transportation — a body designed to be so sleek and trim it's the first modern age garageable van. It combines the handling, maneuverability and comfort of a car with the space of a van. It has 7-passenger seating or 1500 lb.* cargo capacity and almost 150 cubic feet of space.

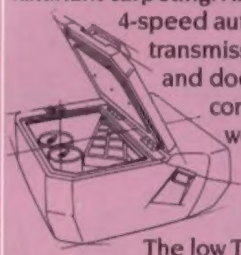


The Toyota Van's wedge-shaped design results in a drag coefficient of .40, better than any van in the US. This crisp, aerodynamic styling and a powerful 2.0 liter electronically fuel injected engine, give it 31 Estimated Highway, (25) EPA Estimated MPG.**

Not only does the Toyota Van have versatile rear seats that can be removed to make room for cargo, but look at what

OH WHAT A FEELING!
TOYOTA

else it has. Plush velour upholstery and deep, luxuriant carpeting. And you can even get a 4-speed automatic overdrive transmission, power windows and door locks, a dual air conditioning system, and would you believe it, even an ice-maker and two sun roofs. All these features plus one more. The low Toyota sticker price.*** It really is a wonder no one thought of it before.



*Includes occupants, equipment and cargo.
**Remember: Compare this estimate to the "EPA Estimated MPG" of other cars with manual transmission. You may get different mileage, depending on how fast you drive, weather conditions and trip length. Actual highway mileage will probably be less than the "Highway Estimate."
***Based on manufacturer's suggested retail price. Actual dealer price may vary.

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R ecurring pain or tenderness in any joint
I nability to move a joint normally
O bvious redness and warmth in a joint
U nexplained weight loss, fever or weakness combined with joint pain
S ymptoms like these persisting for more than two weeks

If you have these warning signs, consult your family physician or rheumatologist, or call the Arthritis Foundation office nearest you.

ARTHRITIS FOUNDATION

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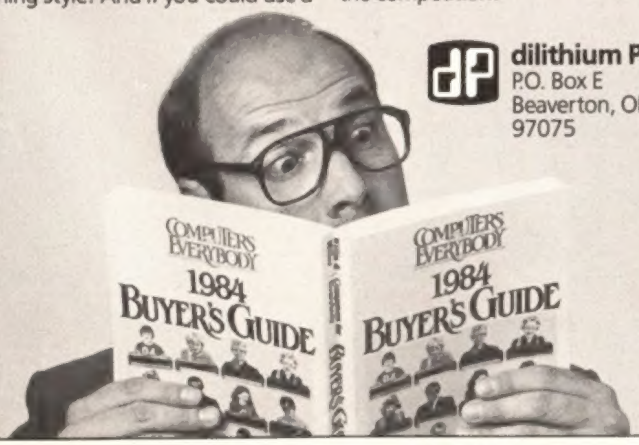

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Letters

country share. Unfortunately, it is almost sacrilegious to express open opposition to the King holiday.

Harold Whisenhunt
Racine, Mo.

Plain-Speaking Jeane

U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Jeane Kirkpatrick [Oct. 31] may be abrasive and supportive of right-wing dictators, but she is honest. She acknowledges that the regimes the U.S. tries to bolster are authoritarian but that these governments are also friendly to the U.S. and necessary to our security. I disagree with Ambassador Kirkpatrick almost 100%, but I respect her for her candidness.

Antonio J.A. Pido
Lansing, Mich.

So Jeane Kirkpatrick's feelings are hurt. Poor little soul. I get the impression she could tramp over others without wincing.

René Denis
Echirolles, France

Boosting Anaya

Governor Toney Anaya of New Mexico [Oct. 31] has been hailed by environmentalists, praised for forming with Chicago's Mayor Harold Washington the nation's first brown-black coalition, and lauded by women for his commitment to equality. Yet all TIME can discover about Anaya is that the young, activist, Hispanic Governor is ambitious.

Steve Cobble
Arlington, Va.

As a homesick New Mexican, I was pleased to read about Governor Anaya, but disappointed that you failed to mention his record on appointing women to Cabinet-level and policymaking positions. Unfortunately, your report reminded me of those published back home. It was another complaint about some uppity Hispanic who doesn't know her/his place.

Rita Triviz
Cambridge, Mass.

Mondale, Glenn, etc.

Why does the press persist in making the race for the Democratic nomination two-way [Oct. 24]? Walter Mondale and John Glenn are not the only men vying for the honor. Nor are they the only candidates with a chance of gaining it. The Jefferson-Jackson dinner in Iowa proved that Alan Cranston is a force to be reckoned with.

Carol J. Wallace
Sioux City, Iowa

I don't see why Walter Mondale's rigid liberalism should be more attractive to Democrats than John Glenn's moderate stance. Mondale is beginning to show

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Letters

a disturbing resemblance to Mr. Reagan in his obstinacy and self-righteousness, while Glenn's attitude of cooperation and compromise would be a refreshing change in the Oval Office.

Michael W. Walsh
West Lafayette, Ind.

Muzzling Spinney

I am mad as hell. By denying Franklin Spinney access to data on weapons costs [Oct. 31], the Pentagon is deliberately thwarting the will of Congress and showing that the military is willing to deceive the people. Spinney deserves a medal and a raise.

George Blanchard
Houston

Luther's Reforms

I appreciated the conciliatory tone of your article on Martin Luther [Oct. 31]. As a result of the Second Vatican Council, some of Luther's insights have now found acceptance in the Roman Catholic Church and have caused the church to experience another but more peaceful reformation. I am a former Lutheran seminarian who is now a confirmed Catholic. I could not have converted without Vatican II's reforming influence.

Terrence J. Thompson II
Miami

Luther's anti-Semitism confirms that his reforms were man-made and not divinely inspired. Luther failed to understand God's plan for mankind's salvation. Christians should look to their Jewish roots, which are the foundations of the Christian church, if they wish to see all God's people united in "one fold and one shepherd."

Patrick W. Gill
Bridgend, Wales

Miami in Manhattan

I read two years ago about the earth's warming up because of the increase in carbon dioxide from oil and coal burning [Oct. 31]. Since then I often take the bus and turn off every unnecessary light in my apartment. The impending hotter climate should inspire Americans to practice conservation diligently.

Kelly Kynion
Hoboken, N.J.

If you think that a Florida climate is a benign prospect for Northeasterners, think again. The greenhouse effect's purely mechanical "benefits" are small comfort in the face of this unprecedented, inescapable ecological disaster.

Robert M. Simms
Troy, N.Y.

Should we start building arks?

Bob Novak
Colorado Springs, Colo.

Hero or Quitter

How dare you suggest that Marcus Dupree [Oct. 31] is a great symbol of college football? As soon as the criticism got a bit heavy, Marcus jumped ship. He did not even have the courtesy to inform the coach he was leaving. That shows what a great symbol he is. Dupree will never make the National Football League.

Pamela Wickham
Norman, Okla.

I am not a champion of University of Oklahoma Coach Barry Switzer, nor do I pass judgment on his methods. But to suggest that he is the main cause of Dupree's problems is unfair. Switzer has successfully coached many black athletes from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Paula Pettigrew
Tulsa

Dupree should be congratulated for enrolling at another college where, because of the ineligibility rule, he cannot immediately play football. Now he can concentrate on his studies, something Oklahoma did not care about. Dupree's decision is hardly, as Oklahoma Coach Switzer called it, that of a "quitter."

Ian Orme
Saranac Lake, N.Y.

Fie Britannia

Something in Author Paul Theroux must have died if he has tired of London [Oct. 31]. I hope no one is deterred from visiting Great Britain because of the negative feelings Theroux reveals in his new book *The Kingdom by the Sea*. Tourists would miss the chance to know some of the finest people anywhere.

Mary M. Callaway
Baton Rouge, La.

It is a pity that Paul Theroux did not "go down to Kew in lilac time."

Louise Skelly
Arlington Heights, Ill.

Patina and Design

Re your article on the modern design show in Philadelphia [Oct. 24]: Americans do not reject the "form" of modern design. It is the materials that they resist. People want objects that reflect warmth, texture and the patina that develops with use. These qualities are found in wood, not chrome, glass and polyvinyl. As a cabinetmaker, I believe that it is not ornament that is demanded, but natural materials and some evidence that a human hand has touched the piece.

Thomas F. Moser
New Gloucester, Me.

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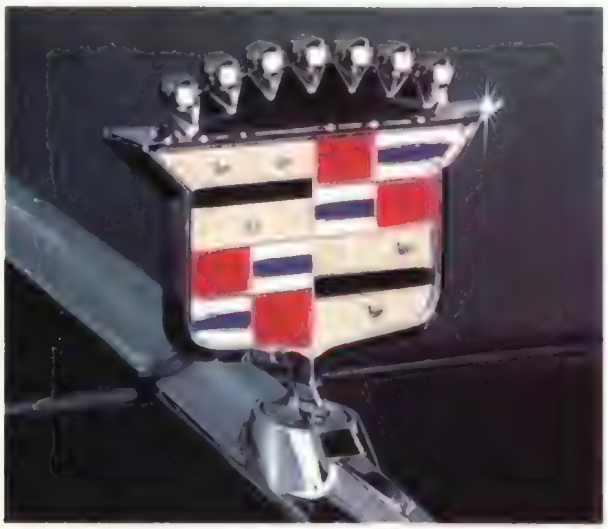

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TIME/NOVEMBER 21, 1983

Calling On Close Friends

Reagan visits Japan and South Korea

The Reagans dined last week with Japanese Emperor Hirohito at a glittering affair in his Imperial Palace, and with U.S. troops at a field kitchen in South Korea's Demilitarized Zone. They were entertained at a tea ceremony and a *yabusame* exhibition of mounted archery by riders arrayed in samurai costume. The President essayed a line in the Japanese language during a speech to the Tokyo Diet; First Lady Nancy Reagan visited a Japanese grade school and delighted the youngsters by scrawling the Japanese character for "friend."

It was all very visual, serving political interests of both the U.S. and two important allies, Japan and South Korea, as Reagan made the first trip to Asia of his presidency. Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, in particular, faces an election, perhaps as soon as December, in which his Liberal Democratic Party may lose parliamentary seats. He was anxious to display himself to Japanese voters as a world statesman closely consulted by an ally of whom he often says: "I call him Ron, and he calls me Yasu." The White House saw reciprocal advantages in giving a boost to Nakasone, whom it judges to be more cooperative on defense and foreign policy than most previous Japanese heads of government. And alliance protocol demands that any presidential visit to Japan be accompanied by a side trip to South Korea.

The timing was perhaps not perfect, with so much else going on in other parts of the world where the U.S. was engaged. In the wake of the successful U.S. invasion of Grenada, Reagan seems to be striving for a more muscular foreign policy, one more openly backed by the threat and occasional use of military force. Thus, the U.S. last week was massing naval power in the Middle East, possibly to retaliate for the attack on Marines in Lebanon—though whom to retaliate against, and how, was an unresolved question. Largely at the instigation of Secretary of State George Shultz, the U.S. was also trying to forge closer ties to Israel, seeking somehow to make use of Israeli military might as a counterweight to the troublemaking capacity of Soviet-backed Syria.

The Reagans and Hirohito stand at attention during a welcoming ceremony at Akasaka Palace

In Europe, the approaching installation of U.S. medium-range missiles over protests of the peace movement is putting the NATO alliance under increasing strain, and may yet precipitate a Soviet walkout from the arms-control talks in Geneva.

To some White House aides, trekking to the relatively tranquil Far East was an unwelcome diversion from these more pressing concerns. Groused one Reagan lieutenant: "It's a real pain." But there was cogent reason to demonstrate U.S. solidarity with allies that it can count on. The Reagan Administration in addition hoped that the prod of the presidential visit would prompt some action on the serious trade disputes between the U.S. and Japan, and in that respect Reagan could claim some accomplishment before Air Force One even landed at Tokyo's Haneda Airport. In advance of the trip, Japan agreed to a fourth year of restrictions on exports of autos to the U.S. They will be held to 1,850,000 in the twelve months beginning next April 1, a bit more than the 1,650,000 a year provided under the expiring three-year pact, but probably much less than Toyota and Nissan could sell in a wide-open market.

In discussions with U.S. officials before and during the trip, the Japanese also agreed to put some tariff reductions into effect ahead of schedule and remove some controls on the movement of capital into and out of Japan. A freer flow of capital could increase the exchange value of the yen, which American businessmen charge the Japanese have been keeping artificially low, giving Japanese exports an unfair competitive edge. Whether these agreements will significantly shrink the U.S. deficit in trade with Japan, which is estimated as high as $23 billion a year, remains to be seen; the Japanese have yet to be persuaded to loosen restrictions on imports of American beef and citrus products, a key U.S. goal. But overall the

The Nakasones entertaining their visitors during lunch at the Prime Minister's country retreat

Portraits of two Presidents in Seoul

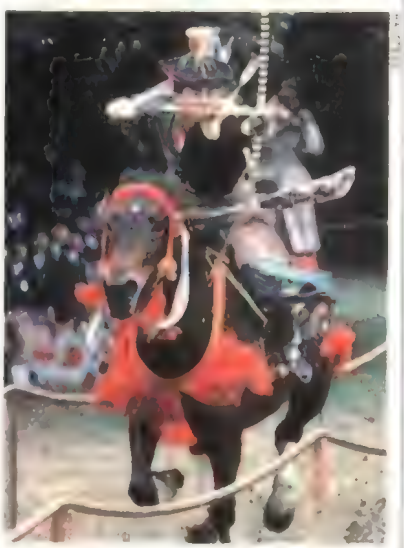
agreements put enough thorny issues on the back burner to allow Reagan's visit to be devoted primarily to the celebration of a close alliance.

Reagan has a knack for state ceremony that he began displaying as soon as he arrived on Wednesday afternoon. After the President and Mrs. Reagan had checked into the Akasaka Geihinkan (guest house), Emperor Hirohito and the imperial family joined him for a review of an honor guard. Japanese were struck by the contrast between the two heads of state. Hirohito, 82, looked frail and stooped, and walked so haltingly that Reagan, only ten years younger but towering head and shoulders above the Emperor, had trouble slowing his stride to stay in step. His manner was so polite that one Japanese newsman, noting both Reagan's vigor and deference, remarked that the President looked "like our old boy's son."

Reagan strengthened the impression by breaking a usually ironclad rule that he ride only in the armored Lincoln Continental that is ferried along wherever he goes. For a drive to a reception at Hirohito's palace, Reagan joined the Emperor in Hirohito's hand-built black Nissan Prince Royal, which is half the size of the Continental. Since Empress Nagako was ailing and could not join the party, Nancy Reagan rode alone in the Continental; they were followed by a convoy nearly a mile long. Everywhere Reagan went in Japan, his own entourage and Japanese security forces combined to form a retinue so large that Japanese called it a *daimyo gyoretsu* (lord's procession).

The Japanese carried security to startling extremes. Some 90,000 police were involved; among other precautions, they spent 20 days before Reagan's arrival combing every inch of the mountainsides around Nakasone's cottage 35 miles west of Tokyo, a sort of Oriental Camp David, to make sure there were no *mamushi* (poisonous snakes) around when Reagan and the First Lady showed up for lunch. Ryujo Hori, 86, a dollmaker whose work is so exquisite that she has been designated a "living national treasure" of Japan, was forbidden to bring her carving knives to a showing of her art that she staged for Nancy Reagan, under a stricture against anything that conceivably could be a weapon.

Nancy's gift to Tokyo children: Yankee caps



A mounted archer performs for the Reagans

But a ban on carving tools.

Politically, the major event of the trip was an address by Reagan to the Japanese Diet, an honor no previous U.S. President had been accorded. Reagan concentrated on themes of alliance and peace. The U.S. and Japan "can become a powerful partnership for good," he declared. Speaking of arms control, the President of the only nation ever to use atom bombs in war told the elected representatives of the people on whom the bombs were dropped that "a nuclear war can never be won and must never be fought. The only value in possessing nuclear weapons is to make sure they can't be used, ever."

The President took the occasion to respond to two Japanese concerns. As Nakasone reminded him in private, Tokyo fears that a U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement to limit nuclear missiles in Europe might result in the shift of some Soviet missiles to the Far East, where they could menace Japan. Reagan's response, in his speech to the Diet: "We must not and we will not accept any agreement that transfers the threat of longer-range nuclear missiles from Europe to Asia." Also, while warning against trade protectionism in both countries, Reagan strongly condemned a "domestic content" bill passed by the U.S. House of Representatives before he left Washington that would severely restrict the sale of Japanese cars in the U.S. The bill, said Reagan, is "a cruel hoax. It would be raising prices without protecting jobs." In the unlikely event that the bill passes the Senate, Reagan has vowed to veto it.

Reagan's speech was enthusiastically received, with Diet members interrupting

18 times with applause. His pronunciation drew some smiles when he ventured a line in Japanese: "Japanese-American friendship is forever." Communist deputies boycotted the session, but their empty seats only underscored the impotence of the left in present-day Japan. A fist-shaking demonstration by more than 1,000 protesters near Haneda Airport as the Reagans were about to arrive was a pale shadow of the mass snake-dancing "demos" the Japanese left used to stage in the 1960s and early '70s; this time, the marching leftists could not even distract nearby golfers and baseball players.

From Japan, Reagan flew on Saturday to South Korea, where his motorcade from the airport attracted more than a million flag-waving onlookers. In a speech before the National Assembly, Reagan's rhetoric was noticeably less restrained than it had been in Japan. He assailed the Soviet Union again for the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007, pausing for silence in memory of the victims. He denounced the "despicable North Korean attack" that killed 16 South Korean government officials in Rangoon. By inference, Reagan defended the authoritarian nature of the South Korean government as a response to the pressure it is under from North Korea. Said the President: "The United States realizes how difficult political development is when, even as we speak, a shell from the North could destroy this assembly."

Talks between Reagan and South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan were so harmonious that White House aides called them uneventful. Chun told Reagan that he agreed with "every sentence, every word, every phrase" of his National Assembly speech. Reagan's visit to the demilitarized zone took him closer than any U.S. President to the North Korean lines. He helicoptered to the Liberty Bell camp, where U.N. forces guarding the historic truce village of Panmunjom are based. At a forward observation post, he had a binocular view of North Korean military positions.

Returning to Washington Sunday, Reagan could reflect on a trip that seemed successful precisely because of its lack of high drama. Quiet cementing of relationships with allies lacks the theatricality and tension of crisis negotiations and the dispatching of troops and ships, but it is vitally important. U.S. Ambassador to Tokyo Mike Mansfield is fond of asserting that since the U.S. and Japan together account for a third of all economic production in the non-Communist world, their friendship is the most important bilateral relationship on the globe. And if it, and the alliance with South Korea, are singularly untroubled—well, all the more reason to let friends know they do not have to stir up trouble to win the attention of the U.S. —*By George J. Church.*

Reported by Douglas Brew with the President and Edwin M. Reingold/Tokyo

Getting Back to Normal

As Grenada begins to rebuild, support solidifies for the invasion

Two squads of U.S. paratroopers roared down onto the soccer field in their choppers, kicking up clouds of dust. The combat-equipped men hit the dry field running, then flopped prone into defensive positions, their rifles ready. Ahead of them, youths of the small seaside town of Gouyave, on Grenada's west coast, sat watching from a bridge railing. They broke into loud applause. So, too, did local women at the sides of the field. The American troops, who had been searching for armed Cuban or Grenadian holdouts in the little war that was over, had been given a bad tip. They stood up to return the waves of the villagers.

Three weeks after the Oct. 25 U.S. military invasion, life on the tiny island took on an Evelyn Waugh flavor. The week's only known military casualty was a paratrooper who hurt himself while body surfing. Marijuana sales resumed along Ganja Alley, a colorful corner of St. George's, and local businessmen had their first postinvasion Rotary Club luncheon. Even Gail Reed, the American-born wife of the Cuban ambassador, whose embassy had been ringed for days by U.S. troops, was able to joke before flying back to Havana: "I'm just sorry I left my Jane Fonda workout videotape at home."

Still, there was serious business to be done in Grenada. The last of the 634 Cuban prisoners were returned to their homeland. Tons of American construction supplies and equipment were flown to the island, where U.S. military engineers will supervise the rebuilding of roads, water systems and telephone and power facilities. Some $3.5 million in emergency U.S. funds had been allotted to the task, but the total seemed likely to fall far short of eventual needs.

Sir Paul Scoon, the once ceremonial representative of the British Queen in the Commonwealth nation, was running the island as Governor-General. With a British lawyer at his side, he announced the appointment of a nine-man "advisory council" that will help administer affairs in Grenada until a new government is elected, presumably under a democratic constitution. No one could say when that might be. The council, composed of nonpolitical Grenadians with administrative skills, is to be headed by Meredith Alister McIntyre, 51, now deputy secretary-general of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva. Scoon gave high priority to forming "an efficient and effective police service free of politics." Police duties were being performed by troops from neighboring Caribbean nations, as well as by some 3,000 U.S. paratroopers still on the island.

Congressmen in Grenada before concluding that invasion was justified

In Washington, before leaving for the Far East, Ronald Reagan solidified the broad popular support for his decision to invade Grenada. He basked in the virtually unanimous praise of American students from St. George's University School of Medicine, whose perceived peril on Grenada had been one of the President's rationales for what he called the "rescue mission." Addressing about 300 of the returned students, whom he had invited to the White House, along with some of the troops who had helped them get off the chaotic island, Reagan criticized those who "belittled the danger that you were in." The President added: "It is very easy for some know-it-all in a plush protected quarter to say that you were in no danger. I have wondered how many of them would have changed places with you." The students' cheers rolled across the South Lawn.

In another effort to shore up support for the invasion, the Administration placed captured Cuban weapons on display in a hangar at Andrews Air Force Base. The most formidable were two Soviet-built BTR-60 armored personnel carriers. Twelve of them had been spirited at night into Grenada 18 months ago by the Cubans, after electric power had been cut and roadblocks installed to conceal the unloading. Also on display were twelve ZU-23 antiaircraft guns, 291 submachine guns, 6,330 rifles and 5.6 million rounds of ammunition. The Pentagon termed the arms cache sufficient to equip two Cuban battalions (about 500 men each) for up to 45 days of combat.

A congressional study group concluded, after a three-day trip to Grenada, that Reagan's move had been justified. The 14 members of Congress, headed by Democrat Thomas Foley of Washington State, reported to House Speaker Tip O'Neill that most of them felt that the students had been possible targets for a Tehran-type taking of hostages. This caused O'Neill, who had denounced Reagan's decision, to reverse himself. Noting that "a potentially life-threatening situation existed on the island," the Speaker said that the invasion "was justified under these particular circumstances."

There were a few dissenters among the congressional fact finders. "Not a single American child nor single American national was in any way placed in danger or placed in a hostage situation prior to the invasion," insisted Ohio Democrat Louis Stokes. The Congressional Black Caucus denounced the intervention. Seven other Democratic Congressmen, led by Ted Weiss of New York, introduced a quixotic resolution to impeach Reagan for sending in the troops, which would, of course, go exactly nowhere. Just outside the White House on Saturday, a youngish crowd of at least 20,000 gathered to demonstrate their displeasure with the Grenada adventure and with U.S. military involvement in Central America.

But overall the Grenada operation seemed to produce a new public pride in the military. It infused Veterans Day observances last week, and was evident as Army Rangers and some of the paratroopers returned from the Caribbean. "It's great to feel wanted," Ranger Sergeant Tracy Hickman told one reporter at Georgia's Hunter Army Airfield, contrasting the bitter homecoming from Viet Nam with last week's warm reception. A post-invasion poll taken by the Washington *Post* and ABC News showed that 63% of Americans approve the way Reagan is handling the presidency, the highest level in two years, and attributed his gain largely to the Grenada intervention.

While the Administration had gained wide public approval at home for its Grenada action, the question of how long the U.S. should maintain troops on the island was still open. The Administration had predicted quick withdrawal, stressing that the U.S. had no intention of occupying or imposing political decisions on the islanders. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger said he expected U.S. troops to be off the island by Christmas. Scoon and many Grenadians familiar with the island's factional politics warned the visiting Congressmen that U.S. forces should stay far longer to ensure stability.

An ironic problem for the Americans is that many of the Marxist-inspired social projects were welcomed by Grenadians, who now expect the U.S. to continue them with U.S. dollars. They include medical clinics, adult-education courses, scholarships for study abroad, housing assistance, an uncompleted new sports stadium and, of course, the controversial 10,000-ft. airstrip, which had been budgeted as a $71 million project. It is three-fourths completed.

One preliminary estimate of the cost of restoring Grenada's lagging economy and its basic physical facilities is $100 million. That is close to a third of the Administration's proposed spending for its entire Caribbean Basin Initiative. Concedes one U.S. Caribbean specialist: "Whatever we give here has to be matched in the neighboring island states. Otherwise they will draw the undesirable conclusion that the best way to receive U.S. aid is to turn Red and then be rescued."

While the Administration's Grenada venture had turned out a popular success, the Government's information apparatus was still in some disarray. Last week, for example, State Department Spokesman John Hughes officially confirmed a rumor that a grave holding more than 100 bodies of Grenadians slain by Marxist forces in the "bloody Wednesday" massacre of Oct. 19 had been found on the island. Next day he had to admit there was no such discovery. U.S. military authorities later located a grave believed to have held the burned bodies of former Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and three Cabinet members slain with him in the coup.

Confusion over casualty counts continued. Major General Norman Schwarzkopf, deputy commander of the invasion force, said that 160 Grenadian soldiers and 71 Cubans had been killed during the invasion. The Pentagon had given a much lower count of 59 Cuban and Grenadian combat deaths, offering no breakdown on the nationalities. There was agreement that 18 Americans had died.

The glaring lack of advance intelligence about Grenada and the haste with which the military was ordered to mount the invasion showed in the fact that the U.S. forces, as it turns out, were unaware that the medical students were located on two campuses, True Blue and Grand Anse, some four miles apart. The soldiers reached 130 True Blue students early on the invasion day. But it was not until 30 hours later, during which time a student ham-radio operator on Grand Anse kept listeners throughout the hemisphere informed that his campus was still cut off from U.S. forces, that Army Rangers finally rescued the 224 students there. For so successful an operation, it was clear there were still post-mortems to be conducted and lessons to be learned. —*By Ed Magnuson. Reported by William McWhirter/St. George's and Christopher Redman/Washington*

U.S. soldiers at grave where Maurice Bishop was reportedly buried

Time-out for soccer kicks as island life relaxes

Unprecedented: Kentucky's Martha Layne Collins heads for the Governor's mansion; Philadelphia's W. Wilson Goode goes from manager to mayor

Elections '83: A Winning Round

A good day for women and blacks—but not for moose

Listening to the uniformly cheery post-election analyses, it was possible to forget that there were losers as well as winners. Everybody seemed able to find hopeful political omens in the patchwork of results. "Tuesday's election," said Democratic National Committee Chairman Charles Manatt, "brought good news for the national Democratic Party." Oh yeah? Declared Frank Fahrenkopf, Manatt's G.O.P. counterpart: "The election provided good news to the Republican Party and President Reagan."

Indeed, when the votes from the myriad elections were counted last week, there seemed to be something for everyone. Black and female candidates were high-profile winners in every section of the country. At the same time, in voting on scores of statewide and municipal propositions, the electorate seemed inclined toward common sense. Most important, when the dust settled, it did seem that more often than not, votes were cast based on candidates' qualifications rather than their race, sex or personal life.

Overall, the Democrats probably came out slightly ahead. Mississippi and Kentucky, the only states to elect Governors last week, both chose new Democrats. Those successes preserve the party's overwhelming (35 to 15) control of U.S. Governors' mansions, a significant power base for the 1984 elections.

On the other hand, the G.O.P. will keep a 55-to-45 majority in the Senate, thanks to the victory in Washington State of Daniel Evans, who was appointed to the seat when Democrat Henry Jackson died in September. The race was, in Fahrenkopf's partisan view, "the only election with national implications." Certainly the Democrat, liberal Seattle Congressman Mike Lowry, did his best to cast the special election as a referendum on Ronald Reagan's policies. He gave passionate speeches, arms flailing, in which he deplored Reagan Administration cuts in social spending and warned against U.S. military adventurism.

Mississippi Governor-elect William Allain

"I'm no sexual deviate and [he] knows it!"

Evans, 58, who radiates a sort of clear-headed country-club cool, shrugged off any special importance attached to his election. "People are trying to read too much into this," he said. At their debate last month, he gracefully deflected attacks: "Mike, if you want to run against President Reagan, you're a year too early."

Evans, who was Governor from 1965 to 1977, took an unexpectedly large share (55%) of the vote. One improbable supporter was Walter Mercer, 50, a labor lawyer who calls himself "a left-wing Democrat." Says Mercer: "He's the most progressive politician in the state. In the Senate, I expect him to vote very independently. He thinks for himself." Evans is what used to be called a Rockefeller Republican. His victory was important for the G.O.P., but it would be a mistake to count his voters as enlistees in the Reagan re-election cause.

In the most closely watched municipal election, W. Wilson Goode won 55% of the vote to become Philadelphia's first black mayor. Four of the nation's six largest cities (Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago and Philadelphia) and 15 others with populations over 100,000 will now be led by blacks. Goode, 45, who has a management degree from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, dresses in Main Line corporate fashion. He is sober to a fault, relying on position papers far more than polemics. Said Goode after his election: "People will see by my actions that I want to be mayor of all the people."

Neither he nor his Republican opponent, John Egan Jr., appealed to racial antagonisms of the kind that besmirched Chicago's mayoral election. It is encouraging that the Democratic machine in the City of Brotherly Love, unlike its counterpart in Chicago, did not stint in its support for a black nominee. Even Frank Rizzo, the bilious ex-mayor who was beaten by Goode in the primary, campaigned for him. However, the vote still cut unmistakably along racial lines. Goode received the support of 98% of blacks. And though he picked up a quarter of the white vote, a comparable white candidate surely would have pulled a much larger share. Registered Democrats outnumber Republicans 4-to-1. Goode was by far the more experienced candidate. As the city's managing director for the past three years, he had nuts-and-bolts responsibility for delivering municipal services.

Goode's election was a first only in Philadelphia. Among other black mayoral candidates victorious last week, Richard Hatcher was elected to his fifth term in Gary, Ind., and Thirman Milner to his second in Hartford, Conn.

But perhaps the most heartening black mayoral success was that of Democrat Harvey Gantt in Charlotte, N.C., where just one in four voters is black. He took 40% of the white vote; the election was almost entirely free of racial animosity. Said Gantt: "We ought to be able to go out and recruit industry on the basis that we have such racial harmony." Indeed, only in Los Angeles has a big-city black mayor won a larger share of the white vote.

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This is the second time Gantt, 40, has stood as a symbol of racial progress. Twenty years ago, the color barrier was peacefully broken at South Carolina's Clemson University when he became the first black student. A practicing architect with a master's degree in city planning from M.I.T., he served on the Charlotte city council, leading a drive to revitalize Charlotte's inner city. "Businessmen are attracted to Harvey's intellect," says Banker Hugh McColl Jr., who plays tennis on Gantt's own court. "He's no firebrand. He's very thoughtful, and unlike many black politicians, he's fiscally conservative."

Harvey Gantt, elected Charlotte's mayor with white votes and no rancor

A feisty populist was elected Governor in Mississippi. Attorney General William Allain, a Democrat, took 56% of the vote to Republican Landowner Leon Bramlett's 39%. But in the end, Allain's positions on utility regulation and education reforms were obscured by a flurry of lurid charges: two weeks before the election, Bramlett supporters trotted out a pair of young black men, both transvestites, who claimed to have been paid 20 times by Allain for sexual services. A polygraph test commissioned by the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger* buttressed the hustlers' allegations. Allain, 55 and divorced, called the charges "damnable, vicious, malicious lies." He added, "I'm no sexual deviate, and Leon Bramlett knows it!"

Gender, not sex, figured prominently in Kentucky, which elected its first woman Governor. Moreover, Lieutenant Governor Martha Layne Collins, 46, will be the Democrats' highest elected female official. A former home-economics teacher, she soundly beat State Senator Jim Bunning, 52, a former major league pitcher. Neither candidate had much administrative experience, and neither focused very clearly on state issues such as acid rain and the decline of the coal industry. Collins only tepidly supports the Equal Rights Amendment. Bunning came off as an unimaginative conservative.

The lifeless campaign's most inspired moment, in fact, may have been its last, the work of former Governor Albert ("Happy") Chandler, 85. When Collins' victory speech had rambled on too long, Chandler sidled up to the microphone. Kentucky voters, he said, should be proud to have elected a woman so "well trained and well educated." Then, smiling and sweet-voiced, he softly began to sing *My Old Kentucky Home*. The crowd joined in.

Women also won at the municipal level. Republican Donna Owens became the first woman mayor of Toledo, Ohio, and female mayors elsewhere were easily re-elected. Houstonians gave businesslike Mayor Kathy Whitmire, 37, a second term by a lopsided (64% to 35%) margin. San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein was even more unstoppable: her five challengers together could muster only 21% of the vote. Collins of Kentucky may outrank her, but Feinstein, 50, has more Democratic Party clout than any other woman.

In a special congressional election in Georgia, however, simply being a woman—and a widow—was not enough to win. Ultraright Democratic Congressman Lawrence McDonald, chairman of the John Birch Society, died on Korean Air Lines Flight 007. His wife Kathy, 34, believed that the Soviets deliberately "assassinated" McDonald, and ran to serve out his fifth term. But moderate Democrat George ("Buddy") Darden trounced her, 59% to 41%. The national New Right tried but then despaired of helping Kathy McDonald. "To be perfectly candid," said Paul Weyrich, director of the right-wing Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, "they ran one of the worst campaigns I have ever witnessed. If I were a Bircher, I would believe the KGB was running the campaign."

Also on the ballot last week was a thicket of initiatives. In San Francisco, voters narrowly passed (80,740 to 79,481) a measure designed to protect nonsmokers from co-workers' smoke. It requires every employer to isolate the staff's smokers; if any nonsmoker remains dissatisfied, the firm can be fined $500 a day. Enforcement will be annoying and probably impossible.

Indeed, San Francisco voters seemed crotchety: 61% voted for a nonbinding resolution to do away with bilingual ballots in the polyglot city. They also passed a proposition condemning military aid to El Salvador; Seattle and Boulder, Colo., adopted similar measures, which additionally oppose U.S. aid to *contra* guerrillas fighting the Nicaraguan government.

Massachusetts voters in the liberal precincts of Harvard and M.I.T. refused to meddle in national security: the Cambridge initiative, defeated 3 to 2, would have gone beyond symbol by outlawing all research and development of nuclear arms in the city. The main target was a lab that designs missile guidance systems.

In general, prudence seemed to prevail. Ohioans voted not to repeal huge income tax increases passed by the legislature during the past year. New Yorkers approved a $1.25 billion bond issue to save the state's decaying roads and bridges. A rent-control law was rejected in Los Angeles County. Citizens in parched Petroleum County, Mont., decided to regulate "sodbusting," the dangerously erosive practice of plowing up marginal grazing land to plant wheat. And outdoorsy Maine voters sided with hunters over their prey: a proposal to end the state's annual moose hunt was shot down 2 to 1.

Last week's voting outcomes were seldom startling or disturbing. Local elections were decided on local issues, like new convention centers (Houston, Philadelphia), old infrastructures (New York, Louisville) and bad schools (Mississippi). Perhaps there was no national sea change, but the social revolutions of the past 20 years were consolidated. "We can hold our heads high," said Governor-elect Collins. "This is a place where no one is limited by race, creed or gender: people cast their votes solely for quality and ability to govern." She was talking about Kentucky, but her pride seemed apt across the nation. —*By Kurt Anderson. Reported by Hays Gorey/Washington and B.J. Phillips/Jackson, with other bureaus*

A centrist and sons: Washington Senator Daniel Evans, G.O.P. star

DEWAR'S PROFILE:

MARK STORY

HOME: New York City.

AGE: 35

PROFESSION: Commercial film director, Pfeifer-Story Productions.

HOBBIES: Writing the ultimate self-help book for the non-gregarious, *How to Spend the Least Amount of Time with People You Don't Like.*

LAST BOOK READ: *Post Office*, Charles Bukowski.

LATEST ACCOMPLISHMENT: Directed *Fur*, a satirical short film, for *Saturday Night Live*.

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PROFILE: Works well with people. Would prefer not to. "Closet recluse."

HIS SCOTCH: Dewar's® "White Label."® "After a long casting session and too many stage mothers, having a Dewar's and soda is the only honorable thing to do."

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Cowering Before the Deficit

The fiscal crisis provokes a lot of pointless posturing

On Capitol Hill last week, the ballooning federal deficit was being treated more as a conversation piece than an urgent problem. Despite a few genuine efforts to do what everyone knew had to be done—raise revenues and reduce spending—the week ended with a blizzard of babbling and fruitless finger-pointing between Congress and the White House that brought the Government once again to the brink of a breakdown. "I am not finding any leadership at either end of Pennsylvania Avenue," said Democrat James Jones of Oklahoma, the chairman of the House Budget Committee.

Not until Saturday did Congress finally pass a stopgap spending bill, known as a continuing resolution, to keep the Government functioning. Although the 1984 fiscal year began Oct. 1, five of the 13 annual appropriations bills have been stalemated on Capitol Hill. Another important measure, which would raise the legal debt ceiling and allow the Treasury to borrow the money it needs, was still stalled in the Senate. And Congress, it seems, will not be able to whittle a thin dime from the 1983 deficit of $195 billion by the time it adjourns this weekend.

What stymied the continuing resolution in the House was a surprise revolt by a group of 26 freshmen Democrats against the House leadership. Impatient with inaction on revenue-producing remedies for the deficit, they threatened to vote against the continuing resolution as a symbolic protest. Their unlikely alliance with conservative Republicans caused the measure to fail by a 203-to-206 vote. "We want to send a message to various powers that be," declared Freshman Congressman Jim Moody of Wisconsin. "We want the deficits attacked."

Dole and Regan: bickering and frustration

The break in ranks left House Democratic leaders flabbergasted and furious. "It's possible to do something so clever that it's stupid," chided Majority Leader James Wright. "They've made a foolish gesture, subject to misunderstanding in their districts." Indeed, after two days of rebuke by their leaders and angry buttonholing by the powerful education lobby, all but twelve of the dissident Democrats came back to the fold. The continuing resolution, with a $1 billion hike in education and other social programs attached, passed the House 224 to 189.

But the Senate soundly rejected the House's increases in social spending by a vote of 53 to 36 when it passed its own version of the continuing resolution. Conferees from both chambers met Friday evening trying to work out a compromise. Finally, a plan was passed on Saturday that included a token $100 million increase in social funding. Congressional leaders said it would be acceptable to President Reagan. He is expected to sign the bill when he returns from Asia on Monday.

The bickering did nothing to squeeze the deficit. The only feasible plan to do that was a gallant effort by Republican Robert Dole of Kansas. He pushed all last week for a plan endorsed by the Senate Finance Committee, which he chairs, that would re-

Cowed by the Dairymen

American dairy farmers, it seems, have been extraordinarily successful at milking the Treasury as well as their herds. Although the total number of dairy cows has gone steadily up since 1979 and milk output has swollen accordingly, the Government's generosity makes it profitable for farmers to produce still more. One unhappy result: the Government is holding almost 17 billion lbs. of surplus "milk equivalent"—mounds of milk, butter and cheese—in warehouses and caves around the country under a price-support program that cost taxpayers $2.5 billion in fiscal 1983.

Last week the House approved a radical approach to the problem. By a vote of 325 to 91, it passed a bill that would for the first time pay dairy farmers not to produce milk. In the past, such "paid diversions" have been offered to grain and cotton farmers. The bill provides for payments to farmers of $10 for each 100 lbs. of milk (about 12 gal.) not produced, up to 30% of their average annual output. The price-support level for milk—the price at which the Government agrees to buy up surpluses—would be trimmed immediately from $13.10 per 100 lbs. to $12.60.

The vote was a stunning defeat for an odd alliance of consumer advocates, the meat industry and the Administration, and a testament to the muscle of the dairy lobby. Consumer groups charged that the program to pay farmers for not producing was a giveaway to the dairy interests, fueled in part by the industry's campaign contributions to Congressmen. The meat industry feared that dairy farmers would cut production by slaughtering their older cows for beef, creating a glut of meat that would depress prices. And the Reagan forces contend that over a four-year period the new approach will cost the Government $500 million more than the bill they favored.

The Administration, however, could hardly cast all of the blame on Congress. Agriculture Secretary John Block last month endorsed the plan to pay farmers for cutting their output. The Senate passed the bill. Then the Administration changed its mind, arguing that Congress had reneged on a promise to freeze price supports for other crops. Said Republican Senator Rudy Boschwitz of Minnesota, who backed the plan: "Apparently, when you make a deal with the Secretary, it does not mean as much as it once did."

CYNTHIA JOHNSON

Agriculture's Block; dairy lobby button

Since the Administration has been on both sides of the issue, it is hard to predict whether Reagan will sign the bill once the House and Senate have ironed out their small differences. Either way, the real test will come in 1985, when Congress is scheduled to do a comprehensive overhaul of all farm-price programs. Then it will be seen who has more clout, the milk lobby or the milk consumers.

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duce the red ink by $150 billion over three years through new taxes and spending cuts. But Reagan, who made high deficits a major campaign issue in 1980, now seems unwilling to tackle the problem and has promised to veto the tax increases "no matter how they arrive." House Speaker Tip O'Neill was similarly intransigent about spending cuts. "We can't keep cutting away at the safety net," he said last week, noting that about 65% of the reduced outlays would come out of cost of living increases in Social Security benefits. "No way is the Dole bill going through the House!" By week's end Dole had all but conceded that his deficit-slashing plan would have to wait until next year.

Meanwhile, the Senate refused to raise the debt ceiling from its current level of $1.39 trillion. The Administration requested $1.6 trillion, and the House has approved the higher limit. The Senate stalemate has bottom-line implications for the U.S. Treasury. The Government hit the current debt limit Nov. 10 and has been drawing down its cash reserves ever since. If a new ceiling is not approved this week, the Government is projected to run out of money by Dec. 1. Even if it is passed, the Senate's delay will end up costing the Government in higher interest payments as investors become wary of Government notes. "We've already disrupted the financial markets," Treasury Secretary Donald Regan fumed. "The debt ceiling is a time bomb that's ticking away."

One huge chunk of spending Congress has been unable to cut significantly: the military budget. The Senate last week passed the largest single appropriations bill in history: a $252 billion defense spending bill, $5 billion higher than the House version. One controversial element in the Senate bill is $124 million for the production of nerve-gas weapons, which the U.S. last manufactured in 1969. Vice President George Bush, presiding over the Senate, cast the tie-breaking vote to rescue the proposal for a supposedly improved form of nerve-gas technology. The House, which has opposed producing the deadly gas in the past, will try to work out a compromise with the Senate this week on funds for the weapon.

The deficit monster clearly looms large. "The danger of not moving now is very serious," Martin Feldstein, chairman of Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers, warned after a congressional hearing last week. "We are facing a fiscal crisis." It is a crisis, however, that seems to provoke only cowardice and complacency, both in Congress and in the White House. Said Democratic Congressman Leon Panetta of California: "Everyone is posturing. Everyone is trying to protect their skirts for when they go home. But without the President and without the Speaker and the Majority Leader of the Senate, you won't see anything happen." —*By Susan Tifft. Reported by David Beckwith and Neil MacNeil/Washington*

Jitters After a Bomb Blast

New security measures are put into effect at the Capitol

Senators Mathias and Baker at bomb site

The bomb that ripped into a corridor outside the Senate chamber last week was eerily predictable. "I was sort of anticipating something," said a shaken Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd, who lost his office doors to the blast, "especially in light of other occurrences that have taken place around the world recently."

The bomb, with the force of about two to three sticks of dynamite, exploded around 11 p.m.—in time to interrupt a previously announced night session on defense appropriations. Merely by chance, the Senate had adjourned early. Had the lawmakers lingered as late as expected, said Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, "undoubtedly there would have been grave injury and perhaps loss of life." Instead, the explosion tore Byrd's doors off their hinges, wrecked a portion of the Republican cloakroom near by and damaged valuable artwork, including oil portraits of the legendary Senators Webster, Clay and Calhoun. The cost of the destruction was estimated at $250,000.

A group calling itself the Armed Resistance Unit took responsibility for the explosion. In a communiqué sent to National Public Radio, the terrorists said their motive was to protest U.S. "imperialism" in Lebanon, Grenada, El Salvador and Nicaragua. The FBI believes the group may be linked to nearly a dozen similar bomb attacks on public buildings over the past two years.

Strict security measures were put into effect at the Capitol the next morning. Lobbyists and tourists alike waited in line as purses, briefcases and packages were painstakingly searched. Security guards closed off to visitors all but four of the ten ground-level entrances of the building, and banned sightseers from the immediate vicinity of the congressional chambers. Soon staffers will need photo identification passes, and tourists will be obliged to remove their overcoats for a spot check and marched through a sophisticated metal detector. Outside, parking-lot traffic may be rerouted to thwart car bombers, like the one who destroyed the U.S. Marine headquarters in Beirut.

Ironically, many of the new security measures were about to be put into effect anyway. The clampdown was prompted by an incident in October 1982, when an overwrought Israeli youth was seized in the crowded House of Representatives gallery while attempting to detonate a homemade bomb concealed under his shirt.

Last week's explosion was the first successful bomb attack on the Capitol since the radical Weather Underground took responsibility for blowing up a men's room in 1971,* but several other attempts have been narrowly averted since then.

Indeed, until last week, security at the Capitol was almost alarmingly lax. Police officers at various entrances checked only packages, briefcases and handbags, thus making it easy for a would-be saboteur to conceal weapons or bombs inside clothing. The gallery-entrance metal detectors, moreover, were far more primitive than those routinely found at airports, and incapable of picking up plastics or other nonmetal weapons or explosives.

Though visitors may resent the new restrictions, some members of Congress are demanding still more. Scolding that the measures are "inadequate and inconsistent," Missouri's Robert Young, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds, suggested that "the security around the Capitol should be as vigorous as that at the White House." He called a hearing this week to explore more stringent steps. The Senate, meanwhile, offered a $100,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the Monday-night bombers. ■

*The Capitol was under violent attack twice before in this century: in 1915, a university professor set off a bomb in the Senate Reception Room to protest U.S. munitions sales to Britain; in 1954, Puerto Rican nationalists opened fire from the House visitors' gallery, wounding five Representatives

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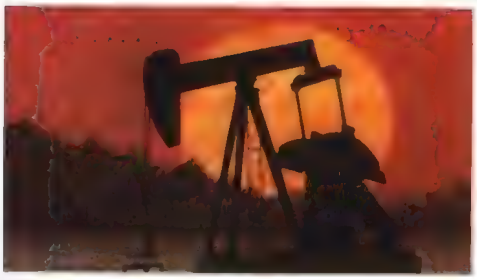

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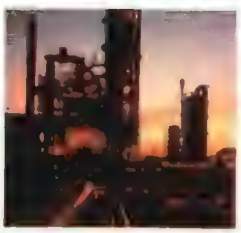

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Missing Secrets

Red faces at Foggy Bottom

Get this: the intelligence branch of the U.S. State Department loses a safe full of top-secret documents and doesn't even know it. Eleven weeks later, the unlocked safe turns up in a prison, of all places; the warden returns it to State. Then a police informant confides that more documents are still inside the prison, but the Government doesn't believe him. Some of the documents later show up in the hands of a convict and a local TV news station.

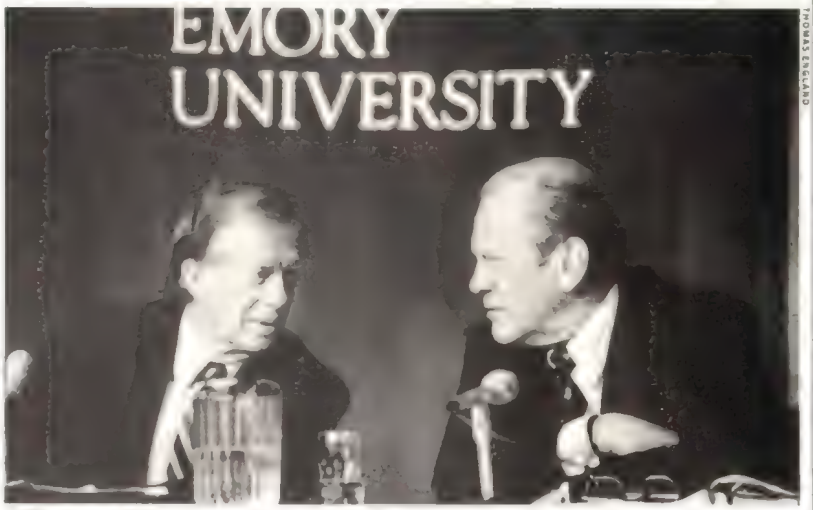
Embarrassing? The Secretary of State certainly thought so. Filled in by phone last week while traveling to Japan with President Reagan, an irate George Shultz immediately ordered a full-scale investigation. Of paramount concern was not just how the security breach occurred, but how far it went: the State Department could not guarantee that every scrap of secret information had been recovered.

The tale of the missing documents began last summer, after the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research decided to refurbish six safes—actually bar-lock file cabinets that are kept in a vault. Their contents were to be transferred to microfilm, and the empty safes sent to Lorton Reformatory, a maximum-security prison in Virginia that had contracted to fix up Government furniture.

The safes were taken to a Government warehouse in Virginia in August, then moved to Lorton. On Oct. 25, prison authorities found that one safe had "inadvertently" been left unlocked and unemptied. Among the documents inside: several binders stamped TOP SECRET containing the Secretary of State's morning summaries of embassy reports and other overseas intelligence from January to March 1983.

Shocked State Department officials raced to Lorton and, after a quick investigation, determined that all the missing papers had been retrieved. So convinced was the State Department that it discounted a police informant's warning that more documents remained at Lorton. Four days later, WTTG in Washington, D.C., reported that top-secret documents were circulating among prisoners. An obliging inmate had slipped copies of the documents to a WTTG-TV reporter. The station then passed them on to Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland, who returned them to red-faced State Department officials.

The FBI was called in to scour Lorton. Meanwhile the State Department launched an urgent "damage assessment" to figure out if any U.S. secrets had been compromised. The problem is, because no microfilm records had been made, authorities could not be sure exactly what top-secret information the mislaid safe originally contained. In fact, the only certainty last week was that, in the words of one State Department official, "there sure as hell were lapses all over the place." ■



THOMAS ENGLAND

Still concerned about the world: two former Presidents consulting in Atlanta

Catching Up on the Middle East

Jimmy Carter calls a conference of scholars and officials

"By bringing together people of reflection and action, the center hopes to encourage better understanding of the issues facing the Middle East." So said former President Jimmy Carter last week as he launched a four-day conference at the new Carter Center of Emory University in Atlanta. The conference featured former President Gerald Ford as co-chairman. Participants included a host of high-ranking officials, scholars and other experts from five Arab countries as well as Israel, the Palestinian community, the U.S., the Soviet Union and Western Europe.

Carter had been working for much of the past year preparing the conference, the first major project of the think tank he helped establish. After enlisting Ford's support, he visited six Middle East countries to recruit participants and also to catch up on recent developments in the region. Both men received background papers from such former policymakers as Harold Saunders, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Philip Habib.

Carter wanted the meeting to be a "consultation" at which participants "would not only present their cases but would in fact consult each other as well, especially in the private sessions and dinners." And so it went, despite one or two glitches. The Israeli government backed out at the last moment, claiming that one of the Arab participants, Harvard Professor and noted Palestinian Author Walid Khalidi, was a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Khalidi denied it. The Syrians and the Jordanians pointedly ignored each other, and Jordanian Crown Prince Hassan ibn Talal refused to accept direct questions from the unofficial Israeli participants. But nobody walked out, not even when the Israeli scholars were speaking.

There were spirited exchanges. When a Syrian delegate castigated the conference organizers for not inviting P.L.O. representatives, former Under Secretary of State Joseph Sisco countered, "I wonder what sort of Palestinian movement you are talking about. Is it the P.L.O. Syria is trying to put under its total domination?" After a Soviet delegate claimed that his country had only reluctantly rearmed Syria after its losses in Lebanon last year, Co-Moderator Ford declared, "Such an immediate resupply [of Syria] would indicate to me that [the Soviets] were a willing and active participant in the arms race." Another speaker compared the Soviets in the Middle East to "someone who can't say no but claims to be a virgin."

Crown Prince Hassan praised the Reagan initiative of last year but criticized the U.S. for "not accompanying the plan with a coherent peace strategy." He urged the U.S. to "squeeze us all a little in the interest of peace" and added that the problem of Palestine, the "root cause" of the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict, "is as far from resolution as it has ever been." Israeli settlement policy on the West Bank was a recurring theme. As Carter put it, "The massive and total commitment of Israel to this unprecedented settlement activity [has] created a new dimension. If Israel moves in any sort of final way to annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip, then any prospect for Middle East peace will be terminated in our lifetime."

Carter and Ford listened intently, took notes and occasionally steered the discussion back on track. In the process, they demonstrated that such "consultations," which the Carter Center hopes to hold regularly, are an ideal activity for former Presidents still concerned about the problems of the world. ■

MIDDLE EAST

Showdown in Tripoli

U.S. warships arrive, Israel and Syria mobilize, and Arafat is cornered

On one afternoon the barrage grew so ferocious that rockets hailed down at the rate of 60 a minute. For several terrible hours, every second brought a flash of light from Syrian positions south and east of Tripoli, then a dull thump and a puff of smoke as the shells hit targets in the Baddawi refugee camp and the lower slopes of Turbul mountain north of the Lebanese city. Every so often a round strayed and hit Tripoli itself, crashing into a building or cratering a street.

Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, seemed to be everywhere, showing up at the city's Islamic Hospital to console victims, inspecting loyalist redoubts, embracing fellow refugees as if the end had come. Sometimes it almost did: 90 seconds after an Arafat visit in the district of Al Zahriyeh, a shell whooshed in and destroyed the spot on which he had been standing. Nonetheless, the grizzled warrior vowed to keep fighting. "I cannot leave while my volunteers are facing death daily," Arafat said. "I am not a President. I am a freedom fighter."

For more than a week, the durable chieftain and some 4,000 diehard supporters fought off a savage offensive by an estimated 8,000 to 10,000 Syrian-backed guerrillas in and around the northern port city of Tripoli. According to Abu Mousa, leader of the rebel faction that mounted the assault, it was meant only to persuade Arafat to enter a "dialogue of reform" with P.L.O. dissidents who oppose his policies. The battle, in reality, was nothing less than a crude move by Syria to squelch Arafat once and for all and seize control of the P.L.O. Faced with the gloomy choice of fleeing Lebanon or surrendering, Arafat elected to stay and wage battle. Yet no matter how long he holds out, the siege last week seemed to presage his eclipse as a prime player in Middle Eastern politics. His predicament leaves the future of the P.L.O. cloudy and serves as a sad reminder that despite Arafat's years in power, the Palestinian people are no closer to realizing their dream of a homeland than they ever were.

The showdown in Tripoli was played out against a backdrop of rising tensions. Two U.S. aircraft carriers, the *Independence* and the *Kennedy*, joined the *Eisenhower* off the coast of Lebanon last week. Israel, meanwhile, announced a mobilization drill of its reservists; the last time a public call to duty occurred was in 1978. Both countries described their actions as routine, but the activity fed speculation about possible retaliation for the suicidal attacks against the U.S. Marine compound in Beirut* and an Israeli military base in Tyre. In response, Syrian President Hafez Assad placed his country's armed forces on alert too, including the calling up of an estimated 100,000 reservists. Washington and Jerusalem both publicly assured Assad that they had no

*Last week the Pentagon announced the final toll of the Beirut bombing: 218 Marines, 18 Navy men and three Army soldiers dead

The Agony of War

Of the countless horrors that have been visited upon Lebanon in the past decade, few have seemed as absurd as the spectacle of Palestinians killing fellow Palestinians. Beneath the menacing clouds of smoke that enveloped the besieged seaport of Tripoli last week, the unforgettable images were of youths brandishing murderous weapons, children dying for causes they could not understand, and, once again, the shattered dwellings of people who have never known a place to call home.

REZA—SIPA BLACK STAR

Arafat loyalists fire a grenade and man an antiaircraft gun. At the Baddawi camp a fighter gestures in despair after setting off a mortar

intention of attacking Syria, but a suspicious Assad surely noted that the U.S. and Israel had agreed to forge closer strategic ties and that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir would be visiting Washington shortly after Thanksgiving to discuss the details.

Just how edgy the region had become was dramatized when Damascus announced that antiaircraft guns had fired at a Navy F-14 Tomcat fighter jet on a reconnaissance mission over Syrian-held positions in eastern Lebanon. The plane, one of four on patrol at the time, was not hit and flew safely back to the *Eisenhower*. Although U.S. officials down-played the incident, it was reportedly the first time the Syrians had fired on U.S. warplanes.

Even the Soviet Union, which has bankrolled Syria's arsenal, expressed alarm over the spreading violence. At a banquet honoring Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam in Moscow late last week, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko said that "we consider as extremely urgent the need to overcome strife and restore unity in the ranks of the Palestinian movement." The message to Assad: ease up on Arafat.

The P.L.O. chairman's decline began in the summer of 1982, when the Israeli army routed his troops in southern Lebanon and drove Arafat and his fighters out of Beirut. His dalliance with King Hussein of Jordan last April over President Reagan's September 1982 peace initiative, which called for the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip to be linked to Jordan, enraged Assad and convinced him that Arafat must be reined in. The chance came in May, when Arafat promoted several controversial commanders within Al-Fatah, the guerrilla group that he founded and that still accounts for about 80% of the P.L.O.'s strength. Fanned by Syria, the rebellion in Arafat's ranks spread during the summer. In June, the Syrian President expelled Arafat from Damascus; gradually, troops loyal to the P.L.O. chief were pushed out of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley and into Tripoli. In September, Arafat slipped into the city to prepare for a rumored Syrian offensive.

On Nov. 3, the rumors turned into fact. At 5:30 a.m., as the city slept, Syrian artillery shells slammed into the refugee camps of Baddawi and Nahr al Barid on the outskirts of Tripoli. Three columns of attackers advanced on Arafat's forces, trapping the chairman and his men between the hills and the sea. The rebels included not only Fatah dissidents but guerrillas from Syrian- and Libyan-sponsored factions within the P.L.O. Though Damascus denied direct involvement, Syrian guns and tanks supplied the firepower while Syrian Defense Minister Major General Mustafa Tlas coordinated strategy with Abu Mousa.

Two days after the beginning of the offensive, Nahr al Barid fell and the noose tightened. Last Monday, Arafat and his top advisers moved into Tripoli, igniting fears among the populace of 500,000 that the city would soon be swallowed up by the fighting. The Arafat loyalists set up artillery and rocket launchers in a grove of orange trees near the waterfront quarter and fired at the troops advancing on Baddawi, a dreary, ramshackle warren of cinder-block houses that normally is home to 10,000 people.

Life in the city ground to a virtual halt. In between bouts of shelling, people rushed out to buy food and find water. Streets were deserted save for motorists looking for an open station and their share of increasingly scarce gasoline. The highway to the south, though guarded by Syrian troops, remained open, allowing thousands of people to stream out of the city and away from what they feared would be a final siege.

Casualty figures were sketchy, but at least several hundred guerrillas and civilians were killed and hundreds more wounded. The mayor and other local leaders pleaded with Arafat to halt the fighting, but they stopped short of publicly asking the P.L.O. chieftain to leave the city. The Gulf Cooperation Council, made up of Saudi Arabia and five other Persian Gulf states, dispatched a delegation to Damascus. A four-day cease-fire was worked out, promptly broke down, then was patched together again. Rashid Karami, a former Lebanese Prime Minister who lives in Tripoli, asked Arafat to quit the area and "leave with all his brothers." The P.L.O. leader flatly rejected the appeal amid reports that the rebels had made their final demand: surrender now and leave Lebanon, or face an all-out assault when the truce expires on Sunday. By week's end shells and rockets again pounded into Baddawi and Tripoli,

though the attack was considerably less fierce than in previous days.

Arafat enjoyed one advantage: if fighting spreads, the powerful militia of the Islamic Unification Movement, which controls parts of the city, has vowed to come to his aid. Both sides, however, gave their word to spare Tripoli. Arafat apparently promised not to shell rebel positions from within the city, thus risking return fire, while Abu Mousa pledged not to invade. Nonetheless, rumors floated through the city all week that Arafat was about to flee. On Thursday, Italian Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini announced that the missile launcher *Orsa* and the destroyer *Intrepido* stood ready off the Lebanese coast to evacuate Arafat.

Unless the P.L.O. leader is prepared to die, he will have to surrender or face expulsion from Tripoli, either as a condition for another cease-fire or at the anguished city's insistence. He could negotiate a slightly more dignified exit, perhaps by persuading an Arab leader to summon him for talks. Either way, Arafat will find it very difficult to turn flight into a semblance of victory, as he did when he was forced to leave Beirut last year.

The rest of Lebanon also seemed like one long battlefront. After the Tyre bombing, which killed 28 Israelis and 32 Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners, the Israeli army closed two bridges across the Awali River, its northern defense line in Lebanon, in effect sealing off the south from the rest of the country. Shi'ite Muslim leaders responded by calling a one-day general strike, shutting down nearly all stores and banks. The Israelis reopened the bridges after four days, but vehicles were inspected so painstakingly that traffic was reduced to a trickle.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Marines stationed at Beirut airport again came under fire. In the heaviest fighting in the capital since last September's cease-fire, a night-long fusillade of mortars and grenades rained down on Alpha Company, stationed northeast of the airfield. The attack, which came from a predominantly Shi'ite Muslim suburb, closed the airport for two hours and hastened the redeployment of 150 to 200 Marines to offshore ships.

That still left 1,400 Marines at the airport. The biggest concern: rocket launchers manned by pro-Iranian Lebanese had been trucked into the hills above Beirut and could be capable of hitting Marine positions. According to the reports, the batteries were brought in about a month ago, before the bombing of the Marine compound. Washington has been conferring with the Lebanese government about whether to remove the launchers through negotiation or through a pre-emptive strike, but one Lebanese official left no doubt about the result. Said he: "They have to come out."

Talk of military action raised a more ominous question: whether to retaliate for the Oct. 23 bombing of the Marine headquarters. In his TV speech three weeks ago, Reagan pledged that "those who directed this atrocity must be dealt justice, and they will be." Some U.S. diplomats argue that reprisal would deter future attacks. Said one: "They ought to know the price of another attempt."

Yet retribution carries risks. Although the evidence points to a pair of fanatical Shi'ite Muslim splinter groups with ties to Syria and Iran, the U.S. is not certain exactly who gave the orders. Even if the culprits were known, Washington would not be sure how to strike back. A commando raid or air strike against their headquarters in the Lebanese city of Baalbek, for example, could mushroom into a battle with the Syrians, who control that part of the country.

The U.S., moreover, would reap a bitter diplomatic harvest. Israel, which responded to the Tyre explosion by bombing Palestinian and Syrian military positions, usually can hit back and stay within the brackets of the Middle East military equation. For a superpower, such a response would reverberate dangerously and complicate Washington's other goals. Meeting with U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam last week, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher warned that Britain would not support U.S. strikes against Syrian targets. U.S. Special Envoy Donald Rumsfeld, who was appointed to his post two weeks ago, planned to stop in London to see Thatcher before

CAMPION—GAMMA LIAISON

REZA—S PA BLACK STAR

A harassed Arafat listens grimly to the latest battle news. A medic cradles a dying child, while a triptych of Palestinians grieve in their wrecked home in Baddawi

flying on to the Middle East this week.

Perhaps the best argument against retaliation is that it would upset the national reconciliation talks among Lebanon's factions. Before the country's warlords adjourned their meetings in Geneva two weeks ago, they agreed to "freeze" the Israeli-Lebanese troop withdrawal agreement signed last May and instead to focus attention on reshaping the Lebanese political structure, which is now tilted in favor of the Christians. During the recess, President Amin Gemayel is sounding out the U.S. and Arab leaders on how to amend the accord and still satisfy both Israel and Syria. This week he is scheduled to meet with Assad in Damascus. Jerusalem insists it will not pull out its soldiers unless the accord is observed, while Damascus has said that its 62,000 troops will stay until the pact is scrapped.

While Gemayel engaged in his delicate tinkering, a 14-member commission in Geneva reached some "tentative conclusions" on constitutional changes. Among the proposals: a parliament with upper and lower houses would replace the single-chamber legislature and be equally divided between Muslims and Christians, instead of the current ratio in favor of the Christians. The posts of President and Prime Minister would continue to go to a Maronite Christian and a Sunni Muslim, respectively, but a vice presidency would be created and be reserved for a Muslim. Although heartened by the results, committee members stressed that these were suggestions that must be approved by Lebanese leaders when they reconvene, probably in early December.

Syria was the undisputed winner of the latest round of Middle East maneuvering. By strangling Arafat, Assad hopes to become the chief spokesman for the Palestinian cause. That, coupled with his objective of gaining *de facto* control over Lebanese affairs, would fulfill Assad's dream: to become the predominant leader in the Arab world.

In response to the dramatic improvement in Syria's position, the Reagan Administration has decided to draw closer to Israel. There is irony in that decision: in 1981 Alexander Haig, who was then Secretary of State, tried to build an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" that would include Israel as well as such moderate Arab nations as Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. When Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982, relations between Washington and Jerusalem nosedived. Things did not improve when then Prime Minister Menachem Begin summarily rejected Reagan's plan to link the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip to Jordan.

In the past months, however, Secretary of State George Shultz has become profoundly concerned about the growing influence of the Soviet-backed Syrians at a time when Israel seemed to be weakened by internal problems and divisions. His concern also had a personal dimension: he felt insulted by the manner in which Assad had harangued him during a meeting last July and betrayed by Syria's refusal to withdraw its troops from Lebanon after he had got Israel to agree to do so. The replacement of Ariel Sharon by Moshe Arens as Defense Minister and of Begin by Shamir has also helped improve relations. In a gesture toward Washington, Arens reversed his predecessor's policy by offering to share intelligence on how U.S. and Soviet weapons performed during the Lebanese invasion.

Shultz, however, faced opposition from Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who has frequently argued that closer U.S.-Israeli ties would imperil American attempts to strengthen relations with the Arab world. Nevertheless, at a meeting last month, Reagan sided with Shultz and signed National Security Decision Directive 111.

Under the terms of the document, the U.S. will offer to help finance development of the Lavi, a new Israeli fighter jet. Other facets of the arrangement may include placing U.S. military equipment in Israel, holding top-level military exchanges, conducting joint exercises and sharing worldwide intelligence data. The U.S. may be even more generous with its financial aid, partly by turning a larger percentage of its huge annual subsidy (an estimated $2.6 billion for fiscal 1984) into outright grants.

In return, Israel will be expected not to surprise the U.S. with unilateral military strikes. It will also be urged to use its influence with the Lebanese factions over which it has sway to persuade them to accept national reconciliation. In addition, the U.S. will want Israel to be more forthcoming on negotiations dealing with the future of the West Bank. Washington will also ask Israel to stop protesting loudly

about U.S. attempts to maintain good relations and secure arms deals with moderate Arab states. Says a top U.S. diplomat: "Israel has got to understand that cooperation does not mean exclusivity. We can and must be friends with both." Most of all, U.S. officials hope the newly forged bond with Israel will send a fresh signal to Damascus. "Assad has been smelling weakness, and that's bad," notes an Administration official.

Shortly after the bombing of Marine headquarters in Beirut, TIME has learned, intelligence agencies in the area picked up ominous indications that further terrorist attacks were planned, not only against the U.S. compound but against a much bigger target: the ships of the Sixth Fleet, which have been keeping watch off the Lebanese coast. The telltale signs included Syrian naval activity, notably around the military ports of Tartus and Latakia, as well as the movement of SS-21 and SA-5 surface-to-air missiles within Syria itself. It was unclear exactly what the Syrians were up to. Were they steeling themselves for the anticipated U.S. retaliatory strike, or were they in on the planning of further attacks? According to intelligence officials, the Syrian threats were what prompted the U.S. to dispatch additional aircraft carrier groups to the area and to increase the number of reconnaissance flights. Denying that it was motivated by fears of direct Syrian attacks, the U.S. described the deployment of ships in the eastern Mediterranean as routine.

There were other disquieting signals. Two weeks ago, Syria raised its number of soldiers in Lebanon from 58,500 to 62,000. Two mechanized divisions were moved to the Syrian front on the Golan Heights, and some 30 commando and paratrooper battalions were transferred from Lebanese soil to Syrian airfields. The Israelis became even more alarmed when they learned that the estimated 500 Soviets stationed at the site of an SA-5 missile battery were heading home. One interpretation holds that the Soviets simply had finished training the Syrians to operate the batteries. The worst-case scenario: the Syrians were preparing to go to war and the Soviets did not want to get caught in the middle. Observed an Israeli intelligence official: "Somehow we were calmer when we knew the Soviets were keeping their fingers on the triggers."

The people of Tripoli did not need to muse about war games last week. The real thing, with its blood and terror, was ripping up yet another patch of Lebanon. As the powers squared off and the battle lines blurred, the entire country sometimes seemed fated to disappear in the flames of Middle East passion. French Author Albert Camus once observed that one is always too generous with the blood of others. Lately, the world has been too generous with the blood of the people in Lebanon. ***—By James Kelly. Reported by Johanna McGeary/Washington and William Stewart/Tripoli***

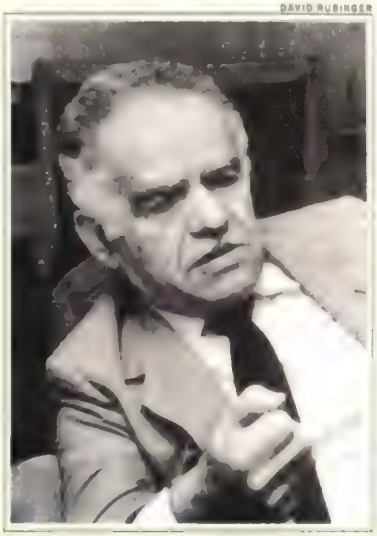
"We Have to Work Together"

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir will visit Washington later this month for the first time since he assumed office. High on the agenda: improving relations that became unusually strained in the last year of his predecessor Menachem Begin's stewardship. During a 40-minute meeting at his office in the foreign ministry last week, Shamir shared his views on the region's problems with TIME *Jerusalem Bureau Chief Harry Kelly. Excerpts:*

On cooperation with the U.S. It seems that now there is more determination in Washington to strengthen the cooperation between Israel and the U.S. in the area, and maybe outside the area. We have common goals. About Lebanon for instance, about preventing any military surprises, about Syria, about the peace process. It is a common goal to make Israel stronger. [We must decide] how to do it in the best way.

On Israel's role in Lebanon. You know, sometimes it is enough to deter somebody with your existence, with your presence. The concept of [former U.S. Special Envoy] Philip Habib was to get us out of Lebanon. Now people would like to have us in Lebanon in order to deter the Syrians from exercising too much pressure on the Lebanese government and taking too much control of Lebanon. If we are not there, you don't have any leverage with the Syrians.

DAVID RUBINGER



Shamir in his office last week

The U.S. and all the other armies will not be in Lebanon forever. But Israel will be here in the region forever. Therefore, if Lebanon is interested in being supported by someone in the area, the only factor it can rely on is Israel.

On a withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. The moment we are sure there is no danger that we will be attacked from Lebanese territory [we will withdraw]. It's very simple.

On the possibility that Lebanon will abandon the Israeli-Lebanese withdrawal agreement signed last May. If there were in Beirut a government fully controlled by the Syrians, maybe they would do it. The political meaning would be that Israel would not be able in the future to work with the Lebanese government on the establishment of security arrangements in the southern part of Lebanon. The only way to pull our army out is to agree with the Lebanese government and the Lebanese Army on security arrangements along our border.

On Syria's designs. Assad is committed to this theory of Greater Syria and, according to this theory, Jordan and all of Palestine are a part of Syria. Assad considers himself the leader of the Arab world, and it is his notion now to fight and achieve the fulfillment of the Arab aspirations, which is to remove Israel from this area.

On the likelihood of a war with Syria. Syria would like to be able to [attack Israel] because the dream of every Arab leader is to become a new Saladin.* When [Assad] says that he has to get a strategic balance, he means military superiority over Israel in order to defeat us. According to Assad, Egypt has defected. Jordan is not a serious country; it is nothing. Iraq is involved in this stupid war with Iran, and besides that, Assad hates the Iraqis more than the Israelis. Therefore he is alone in this front against Israel, and he has to prepare his people, his army for this holy war. Well, we are not afraid, but we don't want to have wars, and we have to take care. I think it is in the interest of the U.S. and the free world to prevent such a war. We have to work together to prevent Syria from taking control over Lebanon, because if Assad gets control of Lebanon he will be encouraged to go forward with his preparations for a crusade against Israel.

*The sultan who captured Jerusalem in the 12th century.

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Battling to Control the P.L.O.

Despite Arafat's troubles, few are willing to write him off

The Palestine Liberation Organization has always been an anomaly, deriving its strength from a position of inherent weakness. From 1976 to 1982 it was the single strongest influence on the Arab world, a threat not only to Israel, its declared enemy, but to every Arab government that did not offer it support. Not since Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser has a Middle Eastern leader embodied Arab nationalist aspirations as did P.L.O. Chairman Yasser Arafat. He had no country of his own to run, but in the eyes of many Palestinians he enjoyed greater legitimacy than most of the Arab world's leaders.

PAVLOVSKY—SYGMA

The leader of the rebels, Abu Mousa, discusses strategy with his men

With or without Arafat at its helm, the P.L.O. will be a very different organization.

Although Arafat was battling the most serious crisis of his tumultuous life last week, few experts were prepared to write his political obituary. The chairman had emerged from the ashes of too many other debacles, including the 1970 expulsion of his commandos from Jordan and the evacuation of 6,000 to 8,000 P.L.O. fighters from Beirut last year. "He has been down before," said Amnon Cohen of Jerusalem's Hebrew University. "Until I see a photo that he's dead, I won't be absolutely sure that he's finished." Still, with or without Arafat at its helm, the P.L.O. will be a very different organization after the bloodletting around Tripoli.

The most immediate change is that much of what is left of the P.L.O.'s military forces in Syria and Lebanon, including the Palestine Liberation Army, will come even more under the control of Syria. Three of the eight separate organizations that form the commando groups of the P.L.O., including Saiqa and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command, are already loyal to Syria. If Rebel Leader Abu Mousa is able to defeat Arafat with Syrian backing, he will make a bid for control of Al Fatah, the Arafat-founded group that accounts for some 80% of the P.L.O.'s strength.

Yet much of Arafat's power was not military but political. As the premier spokesman on the highly charged issue of Palestine, Arafat had threatened, cajoled and argued his way into every council in the Arab world, most of the chancelleries of Western Europe, the United Nations and even the Vatican. While his troops fought a losing battle in Tripoli, Arafat still commanded the loyalty of some 110 P.L.O. representatives around the world. The organization's political wing, most experts agreed, will not go along with the moves of Syrian President Hafez Assad. That, paradoxically, could push moderates in the P.L.O., including many residents of the West Bank and perhaps Arafat, to seek closer ties with Jordan's King Hussein.

There is also, however, the chance that without Arafat's personal unifying leadership the P.L.O. will shatter into many parts, some of which may, for want of any alternative, resort to terrorism. "That would be worse for us all," noted a State Department official.

Even in the best of times, P.L.O. unity was something of a mirage. Arafat's achievement was to weld disparate and frequently feuding factions running the gamut from right to left, Islamic to Marxist, into a cohesive force. But a showdown became inevitable after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last year.

Arafat's biggest mistake was to vacillate at a time when he was in a position to make a courageous decision that could have borne fruit for the 1.2 million Palestinians living in Israeli-occupied territories. He seemed to perceive the opportunity when, at an Arab summit in Fez last year, he came as close as he ever had to endorsing Israel's right to exist. In April he entered into negotiations with King Hussein on President Reagan's plan to link the West Bank and Gaza to Jordan. Although Israel had rejected the plan outright, there was just a possibility that if Hussein and Arafat could reach agreement, the U.S. would be able to press Israel to begin talks with Hussein.

Arafat all but agreed to give Hussein the go-ahead to negotiate on behalf of the West Bank's Palestinians, but at the last minute failed to obtain the backing of his own organization and pulled out. In retrospect, some analysts believe that Arafat would have been no worse off had he given Hussein the mandate, even if it might have split his movement. Says former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, who has long maintained close ties to Arafat: "Because he was so intent on maintaining the unity of the P.L.O., he never stated clearly enough what his real aims were. For every politician there comes a time when he must decide whether to sacrifice a political concept to unity or risk a split." Arafat elected what seemed to be the safer course, but for Assad it was already too late. The Syrian President read the Arafat-Hussein maneuverings, even though they came to naught, as an attempt to usurp a right he has always claimed for himself, namely to be the Palestinians' strongest supporter.

Assad had ruthlessly undercut Arafat twice before. In 1970, when Assad was Defense Minister, he prevented the Syrian air force from coming to the aid of Arafat's commandos in Jordan. During the 1975-76 civil war in Lebanon, Assad ordered his army to help Christian militiamen obliterate the Palestinian refugee camp of Tel Zaatar in Beirut, killing 3,000 Palestinians. When Assad failed to have Arafat deposed at a P.L.O. central committee meeting in August (Arafat actually received a nearly unanimous vote of confidence), Assad decided to resort to force.

The Syrian President may have dealt a mortal blow to Arafat's leadership, but his brutal *Realpolitik* was not supported by any Arab government except Libya's. From Jordan and Egypt to Saudi Arabia and the gulf states, Arab governments were still voicing support for Arafat.

As a result, few people were rushing to write Arafat off. Said a Western analyst in Beirut: "Assad has the guns, but Arafat has the hearts and minds of the Palestinians." That is his weapon, and it may yet, in some unforeseen way, rescue him once again. —***By Marguerite Johnson. Reported by David Halevy/Jerusalem and William Stewart/Beirut, with other bureaus***

From Despondency to Despair

West Bankers watch helplessly as the P.L.O. tears itself apart

"My wife and mother cried when they saw those pictures," said a teacher in Nablus, a Palestinian town of 80,000 on the Israeli-occupied West Bank. "We Palestinians must be the first people to suffer a civil war even before the creation of our state." He was speaking, with grief and horror, of the photographs he had seen of the fighting in Tripoli. Like others throughout the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, he was devastated at the sight of Palestinians killing Palestinians.

The 1.2 million Palestinians of the occupied territories are only peripherally involved in the Tripoli fighting, but ultimately they may be the biggest losers in the bloodletting. If a Palestinian state were ever created, it would probably be on their land, and they would be its first resident citizens. Whatever grievances they may have had in the past with the Palestine Liberation Organization and its chairman, Yasser Arafat, West Bankers have supported the P.L.O. as their only effective representative and Arafat as their symbolic leader. But as the fighting between Arafat's followers and their Syrian-backed opponents grew worse, the mood in the occupied territories began to change, as Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij put it, "from despondency to disgust."

Reaction in the Arabic press of East Jerusalem was unusually bitter. The moderate newspaper *Al Quds* declared that there was no difference between last year's massacre of some 700 Arabs by Lebanese Christian militiamen in the outskirts of Beirut and "the massacres now being perpetrated by Syria and its Palestinian helpers." Another paper, *Al Sha'ab*, mocked the Syrian mobilization of reserves, asking, "If you have something serious to fear, why are you still bombarding the Palestinian camps?"

In Ramallah, just north of Jerusalem, a young Palestinian reflected on the effect the current fighting would have on the generation that has come of age under the Israeli occupation. "We grew up seeing the fedayeen [the Palestinian guerrillas] as hero figures," he said. "That has been shattered now." Others bridled at the fact that the Syrian-backed rebels were led by men who had originally come from the West Bank. Said an East Jerusalem journalist: "The moment they lifted arms against other Palestinians, they lost the right to be called Palestinians."

Whatever the outcome of the conflict, Arafat will almost surely be diminished in the eyes of West Bankers. A politician pointed out that if Arafat is cast aside and the P.L.O. comes to be perceived as an adjunct of the Syrian army, its role as sole legitimate voice of the Palestinians could be easily challenged, most probably by King Hussein of Jordan. "The King would be released from previous restraints and could enter into negotiations [with Israel and the U.S.] if he wanted to," said the politician. "And if he called for the support of the people in the West Bank and Gaza, he would get it."

Nonetheless, the public reaction to events in Tripoli was restrained. A one-day strike in East Jerusalem closed shops, schools and services. At Bir Zeit University students staged a demonstration at which they displayed signs denouncing Syrian President Hafez Assad. The Israeli military authorities later summoned the acting vice president of the university and questioned him about the raising of the Palestinian flag atop a classroom building during the rally. They did not, however, order the university closed, as they have done on previous occasions.

There is a harsh and quixotic quality to Israeli rule over the West Bank that, together with the government's massive settlement program to increase the number of Israelis who live there, has created a general sense of resignation among the West Bank's Palestinians. About 30,000 Israeli settlers now live in the area, and the number is expected to rise to 100,000 before the end of the decade. By then, says Meron Benvenisti, an expert on West Bank development, the Israeli presence will be "irreversible." In the process, many Palestinians have lost their homes and land without compensation. All must carry identity cards. They are subject to special military orders, which, among countless other things, ban the planting of fruit trees, the growing of eggplants and tomatoes in the Jericho area, and the import of animals into Israel without special permission from the authorities. Mayors are deposed, politicians live in fear of restriction to their homes or, worse, deportation. Says a prominent Palestinian politician: "They make life miserable for me. We live hour by hour. The military governor can call me at any time, and I must go to him, or else a new restriction order will be imposed. It is a pretext, to tell us, 'You are always under our command.' "

Many people in the occupied territories seem to expect the worst: eventual annexation of the land, but without most of its people. Palestinians cite the words of Chaim Weizmann, Israel's first President, who described the flight of 650,000 Palestinians at the time of Israel's 1948 war of independence as a "miraculous simplification of Israel's tasks." Says one Palestinian political leader: "For the moment, the Israelis have divided us into two categories, the educated, who cause trouble by talking about social and political rights, and the laborers, whom they need. They would like to expel the first and keep the second."

The pervasiveness of this conviction accounts for the determination of many Palestinians, in the absence of any real alternatives, to hold on to what they have. Since Arafat's expulsion from Beirut last year, the Palestinians have realized that they have nowhere else to go. Lebanon and Syria do not want them; Jordan has restricted their movement to the East Bank during the past year; jobs are scarce in the gulf states and elsewhere. "I certainly don't have a design for the future," says a university administrator, "but I feel the battle now is for our physical survival on the West Bank." —*By William E. Smith. Reported by Harry Kelly/Jerusalem and Nafez Nazzal/Washington*

A sense of resignation: Palestinian youths in Bir Zeit

Quixotic rule: Israeli troops on patrol near a refugee camp

The lineup atop the Lenin Mausoleum: Soviet military and civilian dignitaries, minus their leader, during the Red Square ceremonies

SOVIET UNION

The Case of the Missing Man

Andropov's absence hints at a leadership crisis

Monolithic, centralized, impregnable and, above all, unshakably secure in its sense of direction and control. That is the image that the Soviet leadership has long tried to project to friends and foes alike. But suddenly last week, on the most grandiose of Soviet annual public occasions, there was a gaping hole at the center of Moscow's bureaucratic façade. The image that lingered in Red Square was that of a superpower afflicted by a leadership crisis of unknown dimensions, and of new prospects of uncertainty in international relations.

The event that prompted such a vision was one of the holiest in the Soviet liturgical calendar: the Nov. 7 military parade commemorating the triumph of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Before the march-past began, virtually all eyes in Red Square's diplomatic enclosure were turned to the dark red, 35-ft.-high Lenin Mausoleum. There, the aging leadership of the Kremlin, dressed in look-alike dark gray overcoats and fedoras, shuffled slowly into line to review the parade. The face that every spectator sought was that of President and Communist Party General Secretary Yuri Andropov, 69, whose absence at a celebration two days earlier had been officially explained by the report that he was suffering from a "severe cold."

At first, there was some confusion. "There he is," a voice rang out at the sight of a tall, stooping figure on the reviewing stand. Then came the correction: the man was Konstantin Chernenko, 72, a former rival for the leadership in the eleven-member ruling Soviet Politburo. Long after the ranks of T-80 tanks and SA-3 missiles began rumbling through the square, the first sign of Andropov's continuing presence in the Soviet hierarchy was a huge air-brushed portrait of him that sat on a red-draped float during the ensuing civilian procession.

No foreigner could recall a previous occasion when a Soviet Communist Party leader had failed to appear for the parade. Only a year earlier, the late Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev, visibly ill, had endured three hours of icy temperatures on the reviewing stand. Three days later, he died. Said a prominent Western envoy in Moscow: "Brezhnev stood there on his dying feet, because not being there meant you had lost power and authority."

In Andropov's case, the Soviet authorities went to extraordinary lengths to blunt such a conclusion. Days earlier, Leonid Zamyatin, head of the Soviet Central Committee's international information department, had hinted broadly that Andropov might not appear at the parade because of his "cold." Soviet newspapers gave prominent display to photos of the larger-than-life Andropov portraits that appeared during the parade. Even though Chernenko took Andropov's place on the reviewing stand, the official party newspaper *Pravda* never once mentioned Chernenko's name in reporting the event.

Speculation about Andropov's health began to increase last March, after he briefly disappeared from public view. When Andropov reappeared, he seemed weak and shaky. His last public appearance was a meeting with a group of U.S. Senators on Aug. 18. Since then, Soviet pronouncements have been issued in the form of communiqués in Andropov's name or through the official Soviet news agency TASS. A further signal that Andropov may not be well came last month, when he postponed a scheduled trip to Bulgaria.

Word began to circulate in Moscow and Eastern Europe that the Soviet leader was suffering from kidney disease. Following the cancellation of his Bulgarian visit, East European officials began to say that Andropov was undergoing kidney dialysis. One theory making the rounds last week was that he had undergone surgery. According to some rumors, Andropov's son Igor left Helsinki, where he was a member of a Soviet diplomatic delegation, to be at his father's side.

Whatever the state of Andropov's health may be, some Western experts are now starting to draw a far deeper conclusion about the state of affairs in the Soviet Union. In the year since he assumed power, Andropov has failed to inject the country with a new and forceful sense of direction. Instead, the Soviet Union has fallen back into the same kind of drift and indecision that characterized Brezhnev's waning years.

Andropov's continuing absence means a power vacuum at the top of the Soviet pyramid, and the result appears to be paralysis and attendant political jockeying. That insecurity was vividly illustrated at a diplomatic reception in the Kremlin's gothic Hall of St. George following last week's anniversary parade. Politburo members at the fete shunned their foreign guests and instead conferred among themselves behind banquet tables. As a U.S. State Department official put it in Washington, "It's like a court without a king. Who makes decisions?"

Administration officials are per-

plexed by that question. Under Andropov's evanescent leadership, Soviet policy toward the U.S. has zigzagged widely in recent months. During the spring and summer, Moscow made several gestures toward Washington. It granted exit visas to seven Soviet Pentecostalists who had camped for five years in the basement of the U.S. embassy and allowed U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam to discuss American arms-control proposals on Soviet television. Washington responded with an offer to resume talks on cultural and consular exchanges, and Secretary of State George Shultz began considering a trip to Moscow. A summit meeting between Andropov and President Reagan even seemed possible until the Soviets shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007 on Sept. 1.

Moscow's muddled handling of the event illustrated the lack of sharp command at the top. Andropov was said to be on vacation at the time. But as the Soviet military covered its blunder by charging that the U.S. had attempted aerial espionage, the Kremlin suffered heavy damage to its international standing.

Since then, the signals from Moscow have been both sluggish and contradictory, particularly on the sensitive issue of NATO's scheduled deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. On Sept. 28 a statement issued under Andropov's name declared that events had "finally dispelled" any hope for improvement in the U.S. Administration's attitude toward Moscow. The Soviets followed that up with hints that they would walk out of the Geneva talks on limiting the number of intermediate-range missiles in Europe, perhaps as soon as this week. Soviet Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov last week added that the planned NATO deployment "will lead to a very dangerous development," a reference to the possible installation of Soviet missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Other Kremlin statements, however, have been milder and more forthcoming. Even so, U.S. experts now consider a missile deal with the Soviets to be unlikely. Says Sovietologist Dmitri Simes of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: "For that you need a leader who can take chances. We do not have a negotiating partner in the Kremlin."

Almost all of Andropov's other important initiatives seem to have gone into the deep-freeze. On the domestic front, his highly touted campaign against official corruption and his stern attempt to force increases in labor productivity have stalled. Likewise, Soviet overtures to Pakistan over the situation in neighboring Afghanistan and Moscow's tentative bid to improve relations with China have not led to any breakthroughs. Says Arnold Horelick, an analyst at the Rand Corp.: "Only a confident leader could reverse the course that the Soviets are on."

In his first year in office, Andropov has failed to recast the Soviet hierarchy in his image. Only one Andropov protégé, Geidar Aliyev, 60, has become a full member of the ruling Politburo since Brezhnev's death. The high visibility of Andropov's former rival Chernenko is another sign of the lingering influence of Brezhnev's old guard. The prospects for the Soviet leadership succession are, in the words of former State Department Counselor Helmut Sonnenfeldt, "even more unclear than usual."

One problem is that no obvious leadership choices present themselves. Among the few young prospects in the Politburo are Agriculture Expert Mikhail Gorbachev, 52, and former Leningrad Party Boss Grigori Romanov, 60. To gain power, they would have to win the support of such gerontocrats as Premier Nikolai Tikhonov, 78, Defense Minister Ustinov, 75, and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, 74. Soviet experts in Washington speculate that none of the old guard would enjoy submitting to the leadership of the young contenders, whose first likely objective would be to sweep out the oldsters. More probable is the possibility of continued, uncertain rule by Politburo consensus. Says Soviet Expert William Hyland, editor-designate of the prestigious quarterly *Foreign Affairs:* "My guess is they'll divide up the pie, and there will be a true collective."

The question of the moment, however, is how much longer the Soviets will be able to impose a bland countenance on their leader's absence. Important public events continue to loom in Moscow, including a semiannual Central Committee plenum that is held in late November or early December. That closed-door session is traditionally followed by a highly publicized meeting of the country's Supreme Soviet, which is normally announced 30 days in advance. Failure to hold those events on schedule would cause muffled embarrassment in the Kremlin, and further uncertainty about the Kremlin abroad. ***—By George Russell. Reported by Erik Amfitheatrof/Moscow and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington***

At center stage: Defense Minister Ustinov, No. 2 Man Chernenko and Premier Tikhonov

A sign of Andropov's continuing presence: his portrait carried in the civilian procession

Sluggish and contradictory signals, and the question, "Who makes decisions?"

"We Need Continuity"

America's envoy offers his views on a tense relationship

When U.S. Ambassador Arthur Hartman, 57, strode into Moscow's wedding cake–style foreign ministry last week, it was not a courtesy call. He was there to protest the renewal of mysterious microwave beam transmissions directed at the U.S. embassy. On other occasions, however, the 6-ft. 3-in. Hartman makes it his business to keep the lines of communication open with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and other top officials. Hartman, who worked closely with Henry Kissinger during the Nixon and Ford Administrations, has provided his first on-the-record interview to an American correspondent in Moscow, TIME *Bureau Chief Erik Amfitheatrof. Excerpts:*

Q. How are U.S.-Soviet relations now?

A. We were making a modest improvement in the relationship during the spring and summer. Bilateral talks were held on an agreement on exchanges, and the opening of consulates in New York and Kiev. Then came the shooting down of the Korean plane, and we found ourselves objecting not only to the outrageous action itself but to the way Soviet leaders tried to blame us for what was clearly a major mistake on their part. They decided to exploit the tragedy to build up an atmosphere of tension that they could then use to influence the debate on an entirely different issue, namely the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe. They felt that this tension would favor their purpose in trying to delay or avoid the deployment. I think they've failed in this, and frankly it's hard to understand the purposes of Soviet policy at this moment. They seem to want a limit in medium-range missiles in Europe, but they haven't been negotiating seriously enough to get such a limit.

Q. How angry is the Kremlin over U.S. action in Grenada?

A. Soviet leaders reacted in a very low key. After all, we went to rather extraordinary lengths to make sure their people were evacuated safely. They of course tried to take advantage of the early world reaction, but as the world learned what had been going on in Grenada there was less to take advantage of.

Q. What is Moscow up to in the Middle East?

A. The Soviets have made a major and very dangerous military commitment to Syria. This week they have begun to take political steps, and we hope they will follow their words, which are that they would like to see a calming of the Palestinian situation and successful talks among the Lebanese.

Q. Is the country still in a period of post-Brezhnev transition?

A. It took Khrushchev and Brezhnev some time to acquire the great power they finally did exercise when they were well entrenched in their positions. Andropov has had only a year, and it certainly appears that he is not in good health. So I would say we are seeing a form of transition.

WILLIAM BAKER

U.S. Ambassador Arthur Hartman in Moscow

Q. How long will the U.S.-Soviet chill last?

A. We shouldn't have a thermometer out all the time to take the temperature of the relationship. We are in a long-term rivalry that is going to take much of our talent and resources to meet—and when I say us, I mean not only the U.S. but all the Western powers. It is important to us, while we indicate the unacceptability of certain kinds of behavior to the Soviets, to stay engaged in a dialogue to see whether it is not possible to achieve a greater amount of stability in the dangerous and overmilitarized world we are all in.

Q. How seriously should we take Andropov's warning that events have "finally dispelled" any chance for improved relations?

A. It is wrong for us to be constantly looking at the statements that are made by Soviet leaders. First of all, we have got to understand our own interests. We have to proceed then to develop our own long-term policies. This Administration has been doing that in building our economy and our defenses and, at the same time, offering to negotiate on the important issues that face our two countries. If the Soviet Union chooses not to negotiate, we have to have an alternative. And that alternative is our own strength and the ability of the U.S. to pursue a policy with continuity.

Q. Has the occasional blunt attack on the Soviet system by the President or by a U.S. official contributed to the deterioration?

A. I would like to see the level of rhetoric on both sides reduced. On our side, this is happening.

Q. After the Korean tragedy, some conservatives suggested that you head home and [Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoli] Dobrynin return to Moscow.

A. I think that's plain foolish. The idea of having diplomatic relations is to be able to communicate. And the time when you dispense with diplomatic relations is when you have given up on the idea of communication and when you are seeking other means to settle your problems. I don't like a world in which we're seeking other means to settle our problems.

Q. What has been the domestic effect of recent Soviet claims that NATO is preparing to attack their country?

A. It is difficult for us to sound opinion. I am sure, however, that after a period of propaganda by the authorities in this country saying there is this danger, many Soviets will believe it. On the other hand, there is a kind of tom-tom system that operates here, and people do get their opinions from other sources, at least the opinion-makers in this system do, and they may have some doubts as to whether what is being put out as the official line is the whole truth.

Q. What must we do on our side to develop long-term, stable relations?

A. First of all, since we are a democracy, we must have a public that understands the challenge that faces us in dealing with the Soviet Union. It is the rivalry of two systems based on completely different principles and values. We should not have to re-educate our people every few years on what this challenge is, because that will just mean swings in public opinion and in policy. What we need more than anything else is a policy that combines strength with continuity. We need the ability to engage the Soviets in a positive dialogue to see whether it isn't possible to reach some solutions through negotiation. That is a long-term process. It requires the help of both major political parties in our country. We can't just go from one mood to the other in our relations with the Soviet Union.

EAST-WEST

Shared Anxiety

An unusual expression of fears

"I am eighteen . . . I do not want to die," said the letter to the editor. Another asked, "What kind of life awaits us?" The words were not new, nor was the fear that prompted them: the stationing of new nuclear missiles in Europe. The forum, however, was different. The letters were printed not in West European newspapers, but in Czechoslovakia's official Communist daily, *Rudé Právo*. Despite their ambiguous phrasing, they seemed to convey thinly masked criticism of recently announced Soviet plans to station new tactical nuclear weapons in Czechoslovakia and East Germany if NATO begins to install new missiles in Western Europe. Deployment of the U.S.-made weapons is scheduled to start next month if the U.S. and the Soviet Union do not reach an agreement in Geneva to limit intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

The letters were not an admission by the party-controlled press that Czechoslovakia, a staunch Moscow ally, opposes the new Soviet missiles. But in their combination of idealism and bitter frustration over the arms race, they revealed that some East Europeans share the anxiety of many of their Western neighbors over the failure of the superpowers to agree on curbs for medium-range nuclear weapons.

Whether genuine or fabricated by party propagandists, the letters display undisguised fear. They suggest that the Czechoslovak regime is well aware of the tensions caused by the planned missile deployment, and that it is using its newspaper columns as a safety valve for volatile emotions. ■

Shared Resolve

French bishops back deterrence

Nuclear weapons were also on the minds of France's Roman Catholic bishops last week. Meeting in Lourdes, the prelates took a searching look at the concept of nuclear deterrence—and came out roundly in favor of it. By a vote of 93 to 2, the bishops endorsed a 5,000-word document entitled *Winning Peace*, which declared among other things that "nuclear deterrence is still legitimate" and strongly disavowed the idea of unilateral disarmament by the West.

The firm French stand contrasted sharply with that of Roman Catholic bishops in the U.S., who last May called for a halt to the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons. "Does a country whose life, freedom and identity is menaced have the right to parry this radical threat with an effective, even nuclear, counterthreat?" the French bishops asked. Yes, they responded, but they also warned that a nation accepting the risk of nuclear deterrence must "follow a constructive policy in favor of peace." ■

Prime Minister-elect Turgut Ozal: "Everyone should agree that martial law is not permanent"

TURKEY

General Rebuff

Millions vote for democracy

To the surprise of Turkey's military rulers, a careful experiment in guided democracy veered slightly out of control last week. In the nation's first elections since the armed forces took power in 1980, the wrong man won—at least in the eyes of the military. The victor and new Prime Minister was Turgut Ozal, 56, a portly, easygoing former engineer whose conservative Motherland Party romped home with 45% of the 18.3 million votes and 211 seats in the 400-member Grand National Assembly. Said Hasan Esat Isik, a former Minister of Defense: "The Turkish people have shown they do not want guided or even inspired democracy."

Only two days before the vote, President Kenan Evren, leader of the military coup three years ago, implicitly urged support for another candidate, retired General Turgut Sunalp, whose Nationalist Democracy Party was supposed to mop up Turkey's heavy right-wing vote. Instead, Sunalp's party straggled in a poor third with 23% of the vote, behind the moderate leftist Populist Party, which scored 30%.

Ozal's electoral victory hardly represented a challenge to a regime whose constitution, approved in a landslide referendum last year, has strengthened Evren's presidential powers. Most Turks remain deeply grateful for the 1980 military intervention, which ended a nightmarish period of political terrorism, parliamentary paralysis and economic chaos. For his part, Ozal quickly showed his eagerness to cooperate fully with Evren and the four other senior military officers on the ruling National Security Council. In his first statement to the nation after the vote, Ozal thanked the Turkish armed forces for "their efforts to establish law-and-order in the country and to restore democracy."

To Turks accustomed to their country's tradition of rough-and-tumble politics, the election campaign was a strangely sedate affair. Candidates were not allowed to hurl accusations at each other or criticize the regime. Political wall posters and graffiti were banned, and party members could display their loyalties only with discreet lapel pins. Virtually all politicians who had held elected office prior to the 1980 coup, including former Prime Ministers Bülent Ecevit and Süleyman Demirel, were forbidden to run. More than 500 of the candidates for seats in parliament were stricken from the ballot without explanation.

Ozal, however, may be just the kind of new blood that Turkey needs. He and his chief aides are technocrats who want to apply the best computer-age methods to politics. Ozal's greatest appeal to the voters lay in his record in dealing with the economy. As an undersecretary in the last civilian government, and subsequently Deputy Prime Minister in the military administration, he orchestrated an austerity program from 1980 to 1982 that brought inflation down to 30%, from an annual rate of 120%, while tripling the value of Turkish exports. In the future, Ozal told TIME Correspondent Roberto Suro and Reporter Mehmet Ali Kislali last week, "we have to act quickly to stimulate exports and to facilitate investment both domestically and from abroad. We also want to minimize government interference in the economy because a good free market economy will make the best use of our resources."

When Ozal takes office later this month, his powers will include the right to end the three-year state of martial law. But he will still be operating under the watchful eyes of Turkey's generals. Well aware of that fact, Ozal says that he intends to be "very careful. We should not let anarchy return to Turkey. But everybody should agree that martial law is not permanent." ■

NICARAGUA

Twisting Arms

Debate over a draft

White-gloved guards goose-stepped up to the monument commemorating their nation's most venerated martyr. Then Junta Coordinator Daniel Ortega Saavedra and Interior Minister Tomás Borge Martínez laid a single wreath on the tomb of Revolutionary Hero Carlos Fonseca Amador. Two dozen grammar school students, clad in denim shifts or designer jeans, shook their fists and cried, "The Yanquis will die!" before breaking into bashful giggles as adults smiled their approval. Finally, a high school marching band tramped loudly up to the monument, throwing a gaggle of preschoolers into disarray. As some toddlers cringed, while others sucked their thumbs, teachers urged their little charges to ball their fists and punch the air in time to the martial strains.

Nicaragua's youth has become the focus of an increasingly tense struggle between zealots in the ruling Sandinista movement and those less eager to support the Marxist-led revolution. The trouble has been building since the government announced that all men between the ages of 17 and 22 would be required to register for armed service. Those who refused ran the risk of being imprisoned for up to two years, while anyone who employed an unregistered man was liable to heavy fines. Nonetheless, only 100,000 people, half of those eligible, signed up.

In large part, it thus fell to the 25,000-strong "Sandinista Youth" to improve the statistics. Searching restaurants, pouncing on moviegoers and stopping public buses, they assaulted recalcitrant males, verbally and sometimes physically, to boost registration. Meanwhile, pro-Sandinista professors threatened unregistered students with expulsion from school. Said a nervous student: "If I disagreed with them [the Sandinista Youth], I would be lynched. If not lynched, I would be denounced as a counterrevolutionary."

Such strong-arm tactics have intensified the anxieties of the Roman Catholic Church, to which 90% of Nicaraguans belong. The church has refused to endorse enforced participation in an army that, it feels, is indistinguishable from the ruling party. It has spearheaded a campaign for conscientious objection, maintaining that no Nicaraguan should be punished for withholding his support from the Sandinistas. In response, Sandinista-run mobs have vandalized twelve churches, canceled processions and occasionally forced the postponement of Masses. Eight young Catholics, accused of organizing antidraft protests, were arrested by authorities at gunpoint; two priests were deported on the same charge.

After a meeting between the governing junta and the Episcopal Conference of Nicaragua, Ortega declared with satisfaction that "the church would never side with any invaders." But it does not follow that the church, and the reluctant draftees it supports, will necessarily side with the government. At the Fonseca memorial, Sandinista National Directorate Member Víctor Manuel Tirado-López issued an ominous warning. "Anyone who acts like a counterrevolutionary," he thundered, "will be dealt with accordingly. Even if he wears a clergyman's habit." ■

Two new recruits sign up for the draft

"If I disagreed, I would be lynched."

EL SALVADOR

Losing Ground

Death threats, army setbacks

Nicaragua was not the only Central American country in which the Roman Catholic Church was under attack last week. In neighboring El Salvador, the nation's two highest-ranking prelates became targets of a campaign of intimidation by death squads. In a terse communiqué delivered to a radio station, the rightist Maximiliano Hernández Martínez Anti-Communist Brigade warned Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas and Monsignor Gregorio Rosa Chávez that they would suffer "drastic consequences" if their Sunday sermons did not stop criticizing human rights violations and urging dialogue with leftist guerrillas. The menace was taken seriously: El Salvador's last archbishop, Oscar Arnulfo Romero, was assassinated in 1980 after receiving similar threats. In a grisly reminder of the death squads' effectiveness, government soldiers last week unearthed the bodies of nine victims who had apparently been strangled for being involved in peasant unions that back land reform.

The rise in terror reflects the growing frustrations of the far right, which includes powerful members of El Salvador's wealthy landowning class. They see their influence slipping as the U.S.-backed government of Provisional President Alvaro Alfredo Magaña continues to press for land reform and peaceful elections.

Diplomats are now convinced that the death squads include army officers and aides close to Roberto d'Aubuisson, president of the Constituent Assembly and head of the right-wing ARENA Party. U.S. Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering has warned that continued U.S. economic and military aid would depend on evidence that the government was making an effort to "deal with [the terrorism] directly." During a visit to El Salvador last week, Under Secretary of Defense Fred Iklé charged that the death squads actually "serve the Communist cause."

The latest death squad victims

Signs of growing frustration on the right.

Equally alarming to the Administration are recent indications that left-wing guerrillas have been gaining ground in El Salvador's countryside. In the past two months some 7,000 rebels have attacked more than 60 towns, putting the country's U.S.-trained 25,000-man army on the defensive. Acknowledged a military observer: "The Salvadoran forces are tired and frustrated. Their morale has been shot." Evidence of the increased influence of the guerrillas can be seen in the hamlet of Chirilagua, 90 miles southeast of San Salvador. In September, 200 rebels attacked, routing the 20-man National Guard detachment. Since then, guerrillas have openly shared power with the mayor. Says a rebel soldier in Chirilagua: "The army is demoralized. Even though they are being trained by U.S. troops, we keep on handing them defeats."

U.S. military advisers blame the setbacks on commanders who are still waging a "9-to-5 war." But defeats in the field may reflect deeper political problems, including the absence of widespread support for the government and continued feuding between rightist and moderate factions. A government-appointed peace commission has met with guerrilla representatives several times to try to arrange some kind of settlement. But so far neither side has shown much willingness to trade its guns for seats at a negotiating table. ■

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Gabriel Cortez
Colombia
Age 4

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THE NETHERLANDS

Bad Fortune

A beer tycoon is abducted

He did everything possible to protect himself against kidnapers. Hidden TV cameras guarded his Amsterdam offices; high fences, security officers and vicious dogs protected his villa in Noordwijk, a seaside town 22 miles away. Last month his only daughter was married in secret, and though naturally spontaneous and gregarious, he asked newspapers to ignore his 60th birthday. As the multimillionaire chairman and majority stockholder of the brewery that bears his name, Alfred H. ("Freddie") Heineken had good reason to lie low: when a gang seized a fellow Dutch millionaire in 1977, making off with a ransom of $4.1 million, it inadvertently left behind a list of other likely targets. Among them was Heineken.

His precautions were all for naught. As Heineken was leaving his office early one evening last week, three masked men suddenly jumped on him and dragged him toward an orange Peugeot minivan. When Chauffeur Ab Doderer, 57, leaped out of his bulletproof Cadillac to save his boss, he too was beaten and abducted. Coolly following a well-rehearsed plan, the criminals whizzed through downtown Amsterdam, switched to a Citroën getaway car and vanished into the night. Police later discovered bloodstains on the deserted van and two Uzi submachine guns near by.

Heineken, said Friend Sergio Orlandini, president of KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, is "just the average Amsterdammer—although with a little money." That was putting it mildly. The portly, quick-witted financial wizard, who is worth an estimated $500 million, may be the wealthiest man in The Netherlands; he is also a full-fledged jet-setter who socializes with Monaco's Prince Rainier as well as Queen Beatrix of The Netherlands, and collects Picassos, mansions and a pride of vintage cars.

Freddie Heineken

At 23, Heineken loyally served the family firm, which was founded by his grandfather in 1864, by peddling beer from bar to bar in New York City, while living in a $3.50-a-night hotel room in Times Square. He returned to Amsterdam two years later with an American wife and a canny sense of how to produce publicity with dignity. Since he became chairman of the company in 1971, its sales have more than quintupled, reaching an annual $1.4 billion, thanks in large part to the serenely elegant ads directed by Heineken himself. What he calls "the Rolls-Royce of beers" now sells in 150 countries and is by volume the largest single item to be shipped from Europe to North America.

Shady fortune hunters, as Heineken knows, find such figures irresistible. In 1980 three extortionists threatened to poison cans of Heineken beer unless they were paid more than $1 million. Their plot was foiled. Nonetheless, another would-be crook tried the same ploy last August, demanding $3.3 million. Some of the policemen who thwarted him were entertained by Heineken in his office on the day of his disappearance.

Hours after the kidnaping, a letter was delivered to the central police station in The Hague, reportedly demanding a ransom of $8.3 million. Heineken has always told his top managers that if he were kidnaped, they should refuse to pay for his release. But associates believe that the tycoon would wish no expense spared in rescuing his close friend Doderer. "If you can't reach me," Heineken was fond of saying, "just ask Ab. He knows all my secrets." By week's end both men, and all their secrets, remained out of reach. ■

Masters of the Art

Short of helping the thieves carry the booty to their car, Budapest's Fine Arts Museum seems to have done everything possible to ensure the success of the heist. With apparent ease, robbers penetrated the museum's flimsy security last week and plundered its fine collection of old masters. Unhindered, they cut or lifted seven Italian paintings from their frames, then spirited them out of the building. Declared shaken Museum Director Klara Garas: "It is a catastrophe."

The robbers seemed to know their art: included were two works by the 16th century Venetian master Tintoretto, and *Portrait of a Young Man*, attributed to Raphael. By far the most important of the works, however, was Raphael's 1508 *Mary with the Christ Child and Young John the Baptist*, known as the Esterházy Madonna after the Hungarian noble family that sold it to the state in 1872. A jewel of the collection, the Madonna gives rare insights into Raphael's compositional skills. Raphael Scholar James Beck of Columbia University estimates that it alone is worth between $1 million and $2 million, while the total value of the stolen works is as much as $7 million.

The caper seems to have been executed with simple cat-burglary techniques. Sometime after dark, the thieves climbed a repairmen's scaffold on the west side of the imposing, neoclassical building. After scaling a 20-ft. stone wall, they reached one of the windows to the old masters' gallery. It was not protected by bars, so the thieves merely cut a hole in the glass, opened the latch, and slipped inside. The burglar alarm, museum attendants later admitted, had been out of order for three weeks.

The intruders appear to have made sure that they would not be surprised by the team of night guards. One shift went off duty at 1:30 a.m. and, following a routine schedule, the replacement team did not reach the old masters' gallery until after 2 a.m., when the theft was discovered.

Missing jewel: the Esterházy Madonna

Based on telephone calls from people who either lived in the neighborhood or were in the vicinity between 1:30 and 2 a.m., the police said, they believed the suspects were two or three youths driving a car that might have belonged to a foreigner or was rented. Ten thousand policemen fanned out in a nationwide search, but in all likelihood the culprits had already escaped to Yugoslavia or Austria, both just 2½ hours from Budapest by car. Although the fame of the paintings will make them all but impossible to sell publicly, some unscrupulous private collectors may relish acquiring them clandestinely. Authorities have already described the loss to Hungary's cultural heritage as "incalculable." The same term might apply to the negligence of the museum. Officials admitted last week that the poorly guarded paintings had not even been insured against theft.

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Bad Landmark

Righting a racial wrong

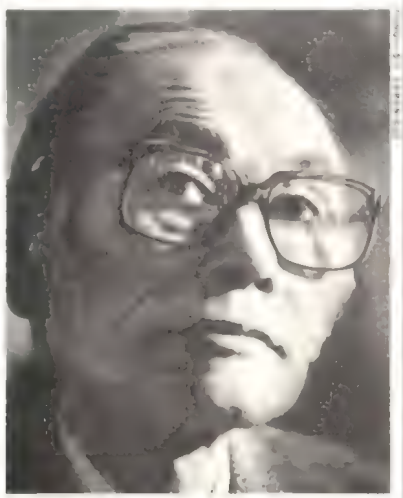
Fred Korematsu was a name that had lived in constitutional infamy. The Oakland-born steel welder refused to obey a 1942 military order banning all people of Japanese ancestry from San Leandro, Calif. As a result, he was called a "Jap spy" in a newspaper headline, sentenced to five years' probation and removed to a detention camp. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld his conviction and the evacuation order, thereby enshrining his name as a legal landmark. Later, when many began to question the internment of 100,000 Japanese-American citizens, *Korematsu* vs. *United States* was known to jurists as a rare case in which the Supreme Court upheld the singling out of a racial minority for adverse treatment.

Last week, however, Korematsu was finally and formally cleared when a federal judge in California threw out his conviction. Korematsu had gone back to court early this year to argue that the Government had made false statements in support of the evacuation. His new case rested in part on materials obtained through the Freedom of Information Act by Peter Irons, a political scientist at the University of California at San Diego. In one such document, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover stated that he could find no evidence to support the War Department's contention that West Coast Japanese were signaling Japanese warships off the coast.

The Justice Department did not acknowledge any Government misconduct, but decided against fighting the case on the ground that the evacuation program was "an unfortunate episode in our nation's history" that would best be "put behind us." U.S. District Judge Marilyn Patel pronounced the Government's mealymouthed statement "tantamount to a confession of error." She added that the Supreme Court's decision was "based on unsubstantiated facts, distortions and misrepresentations."

Nevertheless, the Supreme Court precedent created by Korematsu's case remains the law of the land. Ironically, Justice Hugo Black's majority opinion, which stated for the first time that racial classifications were constitutionally "suspect," helped establish a foundation for decisions striking down racial discrimination. But Black also found that "pressing public necessity may sometimes justify" restrictions on racial groups. That is worrisome, says Stanford Constitutional Scholar Gerald Gunther. "The unsettling aspects of *Korematsu* are not removed by the fact that 40 years later someone can say that it shouldn't have happened."

As for Korematsu, 63, he is now an Oakland draftsman and is "very pleased and satisfied with the ruling. I don't have a criminal record any more." Why had he not sought a pardon to erase that record? "If anyone should do any pardoning," he said quietly, "I should be the one pardoning the Government for what they did to the Japanese-American people." ■



Korematsu 40 years later

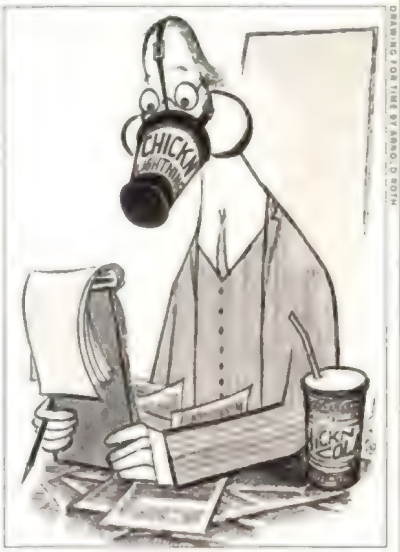
Internment by "misrepresentation."

Lawyer Mocking

The sky may not be blue

So you want to be a lawyer? Well, D. Robert White Esq. has some advice for you. White, 30, is the author of *The Official Lawyer's Handbook*, but you can bet your convertible debentures that this volume of dos and don'ts will not win an award from the American Bar Association. Lawyers, according to White, are an avaricious bunch of dull drudges who want to do you out of your life savings. One might give careful consideration to pleading guilty and going to prison before hiring one, White suggests. Is he serious? A little. *The Official Lawyer's Handbook* (Simon & Schuster; $5.95), published this month, is a book of cutting humor that purports to "tell all" about law schools and law firms in the same way that *The Official Preppy Handbook* tells all about pink and green alligators.

White, who for three years was a junior associate in the mines of Hogan & Hartson, a major Washington, D.C., firm, lampoons and lambastes everyone connected with the legal profession, from starters to partners. For students worried about the bar exam, he has a chapter subtitled "Thousands of Morons Have Passed It—So Can You." There is a section exploring the compulsion for obscurity and obfuscation. The rule is: "If a layman can read a document from beginning to end without falling asleep, it needs work." Simple, direct statements should be avoided at all costs. For example, "The sky is blue" is impossibly straightforward; any associate worth his salt will quickly convert it to "The sky generally appears to be blue." His more experienced superior will render the statement "In some parts of the world, what is generally thought of as the sky sometimes appears to be blue." At which point, a senior partner will have a base to build on.



Appearances count. Prominently displayed bound volumes of the *Harvard Law Review* will give clients and colleagues the impression that a young attorney was a student editor. A male associate's "wardrobe of suits can run the gamut from blue to black." Women should dress as drably as possible and avoid makeup and perfume: "You don't want to encourage the senior partner to think of you in the same vein as the women he knew in Paris during the war."

White warns that "real lawyers eat fast food"—at their desks. Associates must often put in 60-hour weeks in order to keep up with the mountain of work. But even after seven or eight years of such drudgery ("like researching U.S. postal regulations . . . or comparing the Delaware nonprofit corporation law with that of the other states"), there is only a slim chance of becoming a partner. To beat the odds, one need only be "the hardest-working, least-likely-to-screw-up, most anal, puritanical grind since Cotton Mather."

Three years into this effort, White says, he began to find it all hilariously funny, and then he knew that he was in the wrong profession. (One of his maxims is "There are no funny lawyers—only funny people who made career mistakes.") He is now on a leave from his firm, which he says may well become permanent. The last of his "ten ways to end a legal career" is "Write this book." ■

Cultivating Late Bloomers

Smith's Ada Comstock Scholars give more than they take

For most undergraduates at elite Smith College in Northampton, Mass., the road to one of the Seven Sisters has been smooth and untroubled. Despite the considerable work load there is always the comfortable feeling that the $8,430-a-year tuition bill will be met. But Gilda Palano is different. For a start, she is 48, and when she graduates next year with a B.A. in anthropology and sociology she will have overcome more obstacles than most of the young women around her will face in a lifetime.

Palano has a registered nursing diploma, has been married for 27 years to a mechanic at a General Electric plant in Pittsfield, had four children of her own and took in two foster children. Tragedy seems to have stalked her: her mother left home when Palano was nine, she lost a daughter to cancer and she suffered a spinal injury in an auto crash, which forced her to spend her life on crutches. None of this has stopped her from going back to school, first to a community college and then, in 1980, transferring to Smith's innovative degree program for older women. For three days a week Palano lives on campus, taking courses paid for through a variety of grants and loans. "Just finding out your brain still works at this age is a neat thing," she says.

What will make a college degree possible for Palano is Smith's eight-year-old Ada Comstock Program for women over 22. Named for a former dean (class of '97) who later became president of Radcliffe, the program is both generous and uncompromising: there is no time limit for earning a degree and, for needier students, there is financial help; but the "Adas" (their campus nickname) must attend the same classes as regular four-year students, which means no snap courses and no credits for "life experience," a popular trend in adult education.

Smith provides an outstanding example of the surge in adult education in America, as the population of 18-year-olds continues to decline. One-third of the 12.4 million U.S. students now enrolled in degree programs are over 25, and the majority of these are women: 2,425,000 in 1981, up from 1 million in 1972. Many of these students are enrolled in state universities or community colleges, but even highly competitive Ivy League schools have bachelor's degree programs for older students. Yale has begun admitting adults on a part-time basis, and Brown has had a program for adults since 1972, originally intended for returning Viet Nam veterans. Both Wellesley and Mount Holyoke have vigorous programs for older women who want to complete a degree, prepare for new jobs or simply enlarge their horizons. Adult students have a "greater capacity," says Smith History Professor Stanley Elkins, "simply because they are older, have lived longer and have had the experience."

SMITH COLLEGE ARCHIVES

Rosenheck, above, with full-time student Christina Meier; Comstock, circa 1897

Indeed, Smith sees its older students as such a positive asset that it is constantly enlarging the program: it began with just 16 women and this academic year has an enrollment of 161. Of the 382 potential Adas who applied to Smith this year, only 61 were accepted, and 46 are currently enrolled. Entry to the program is based on previous academic performance, an autobiographical essay and letters of recommendation.

The background of many of these students has been a surprise to the college. Ada Administrator Eleanor Rothman recalls that when the program was first proposed, the faculty expected to receive genteel inquiries from well-to-do women yearning to complete their degrees. Instead, applications poured in from clerks, secretaries, farmers, nurses and switchboard operators. One woman, who worked as an apple picker, wrote in her application: "I am ready to go to school because I need to." Another Ada, Barbara Rosenheck, 46, the widowed mother of four, now spending part of the week in a Smith dormitory, feels as if she is living "with my own daughters."

More than half the Adas need some sort of financial aid, and much of Rothman's time is spent cajoling money from a variety of sources. The most important one for her at present is the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation of Flint, Mich., which has given a grant to Smith for the education of mothers on welfare. Since 1975, Rothman has raised $2 million, and the money, she says, has been well spent because Adas are achievers: 20% graduate Phi Beta Kappa, and 34% win honors.

These achievements are often against incredible odds. Eileen Harris, 32, a telephone operator from Springfield for the past 14 years, works the 9 p.m. to 3 a.m. shift, grabs a few hours of sleep, gets her children off to school, then drives 18 miles to class. Says Rothman: "The Adas are not more intelligent than the traditional undergraduate, just more highly motivated." Explains Beverly Donovan, 31, a divorced mother of two children who is on welfare: "It's very clear to me that I'm going to have to be making money and supporting myself and my children, and I don't have anyone to fall back on." Adas have become teachers, lawyers, ministers and one is a foreign correspondent for a news agency. Michele Lindsay, 30, spent four years in a backwoods Vermont cabin without electricity or running water before entering Smith. She is now a municipal-note trader at Morgan Guaranty Trust on Wall Street.

Younger students and faculty alike agree that Adas are contributing at least as much to Smith as they are getting. Elkins recalls a 62-year-old Ada who once, during a lecture, corrected him on the date that gas lamplighters disappeared from the streets of Boston. Says he: "She was right, and the kids got a great kick out of it." Elkins notes that the Adas bring to class an intense intellectual hunger often lacking in younger students. Adas, he says, are good consumers "and by golly, they want their money's worth. That's healthy for a college." Junior Jennifer Larsen, 20, agrees: "It is really helpful to have women who can bring in a lot of different points that have never occurred to people my age." The world outside Smith also stands to gain from the program. Rosenheck, a psychology major, plans to go into counseling "to help women like myself know that they can do this, too, that they don't have to settle for less." Says she: "I have a lot to give back." —*By Janice Castro. Reported by Ruth Mehrtens Galvin/Northampton*

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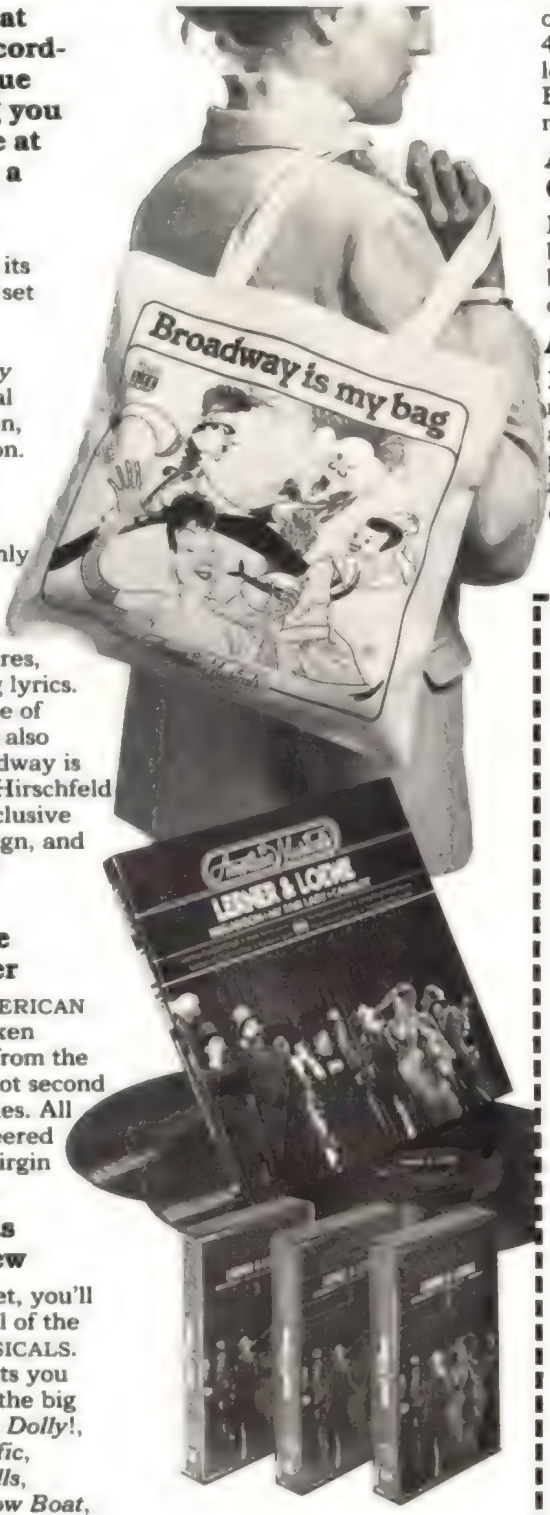

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Esquire at Mid-Century

A birthday celebrated in black tie and a 616-page issue

On the day in 1933 that salesmen started soliciting ads for *Esquire*, President Franklin Roosevelt closed all the nation's banks. The magazine, which emphasized men's fashion, was to be distributed primarily through clothing stores, but the first issue's newsstand copies sold so quickly that the staff frenziedly retrieved what they could from the haberdashers. Three years later, *Esquire* had a profitable circulation of 440,000 and was publishing works that are still remembered, including Ernest Hemingway's *The Snows of Kilimanjaro*, and F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Crack-Up*. Other magazines that competed for big-name writers in those days are gone: the original *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, *Liberty*. But *Esquire*, though it has undergone a series of shifts that have made it seem the magazine of a thousand faces, has endured.

Last week the magazine climaxed a yearlong celebration of its 50th birthday with a black-tie party for 2,000 people in New York City's Avery Fisher Hall. They gathered to honor a self-conscious "publishing event": a 616-page special issue of *Esquire*, hailing "50 Americans who made the difference." In attendance were some of the issue's glittery contributors, including Norman Mailer, William Buckley and Kurt Vonnegut, and subjects, including Polio Vaccine Pioneer Dr. Jonas Salk, Boxer Muhammad Ali, Pollster George Gallup and Feminist Betty Friedan. Perhaps the central figures, however, were Phillip Moffitt, 37, and Christopher Whittle, 36, the Tennesseans who bought out investors including then Editor Clay Felker for a reported $3.5 million in 1979, when *Esquire* was losing $25,000 a day. Chairman Whittle's gala announcement: "After 13 years, we have come back into the black." Established magazines, once they falter, are rarely able to turn around, and *Esquire* falls between two categories of periodicals, general interest and men's, that have been hit especially hard by reader defections. *Playboy* (circ. 4,250,000) and *Penthouse* (circ. 3,454,000) have each lost more than 12% in circulation: *Esquire's* nearest rival, *GQ* (for *Gentlemen's Quarterly*), is growing (circ. 558,000, up 7.5%) but has deliberately shifted from a clotheshorse consciousness to deal, like *Esquire*, with popular culture in the broadest sense. Under Whittle and Moffitt, *Esquire's* circulation has grown somewhat, from 652,000 to 730,000 (well below the mid-1970s peak of 1.25 million) while the number of advertising pages has soared from 535 in 1981 to 1,312 in 1983. Two major reasons for the upsurge: Editor Moffitt's success in appealing to affluent fellow members of the baby-boom generation, and a series of service-oriented features that openly tie editorial content to ads. The November issue's 68-page section on bars and drink recipes, for example, includes 23 pages of full-color liquor advertisements.

The typical *Esquire* reader, according to an independent survey, is a male college graduate between 25 and 34 who earns $33,000 in a managerial or professional job. In addition to fiction and some semiserious journalism, the magazine provides advice on trendy places to live (Santa Fe, for women and scenery), chic collectibles (signed handcrafted furniture), modish cookery and backpacking.

The baby-boom generation takes charge: Moffitt, left, and Whittle

"After 13 years of losing money, it is back into the black."

What may uphold *Esquire's* reputation among its readers as more than a fawning service magazine is that its hip tips are often offset by moralizing self-doubt, a quality Moffitt sees as a 1960s holdover. Says he: "We have done everything with this generation, our generation, in mind. The tone of our times, for them, is an unending series of crises: having babies *vs.* pursuing careers, how hard we want to work. These are questions of meaning." According to Moffitt, the best-read feature is Anthony Brandt's column on personal ethics, which has pondered the duty to keep a secret and the propriety of taking legal but dubious tax deductions.

Former executives of *Esquire* applaud the business acumen of Moffitt and Whittle, but give the content less enthusiastic reviews. Says one longtime editor: "They have convinced Madison Avenue that this is the hottest thing going, but I have grave doubts about their literary taste." Felker gently concurs: "They are marketing people more than journalists. Theirs is a valuable publication, but is it *Esquire*? Only some of it is."

What exactly *Esquire* is has been answered differently almost decade by decade. In the 1930s it taught middlebrows a sense of style, at first sartorially, then literarily. In the 1940s it followed America's youth to war and turned so strongly to cheesecake that its contents had to be cleared in advance by the post office. The titillation—tame by present standards, but daring for its day—was phased out in the 1950s, when Founding Editor Arnold Gingrich (who died after semiretirement in 1976) returned to guide the magazine back to "quality"; it then became perhaps the foremost outlet for well-known, mainstream writers. In the 1960s, it turned to raffish, at times sophomoric humor. In the 1970s, although it presented noteworthy journalism by Tom Wolfe and Harrison Salisbury, *Esquire* groped for an identity. Then came Whittle and Moffitt, who were publishers of *Nutshell*, a guide distributed on college campuses. *Esquire* gave them a national platform and sentimental satisfaction. Recalls Moffitt: "Reading it as a teenager, I would measure how adult I felt."

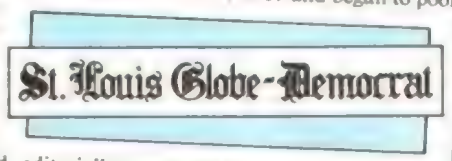
Having fulfilled one editorial dream, Moffitt enjoyed another in assembling the current issue. The whole is less impressive than its parts: the depth and focus of the profiles vary erratically, and many are marred by the writer's misplaced insistence on putting himself at the center of his story. But there are some splendid, mildly offbeat entries: Wilfrid Sheed's portrayal of the on-the-field politeness and off-the-field anger of baseball's Jackie Robinson; Ronald Steel's evocation of Cold Warrior Dean Acheson; Alistair Cooke's precise homage to Jazz Composer Duke Ellington. "The common theme," says Moffitt, "is the power of the individual, our wanting it not to be true that institutions are everything." The issue's merits—earnestness, attention to social trends, appreciation of what makes a star in any line of endeavor—are also the strengths of this incarnation of *Esquire*. It may not enjoy the cachet and influence it once did, but this institution has survived. —***By William A. Henry III. Reported by Richard Bruns/New York***

St. Louis Blues

The Globe-Democrat *bows out*

There was barely a murmur of foreboding among the 200 employees of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* when they were summoned to the paper's seedy fifth-floor conference room. One reporter had signed a $70,000 mortgage note on his way to work; some colleagues speculated that the meeting would concern a charity drive. Seemingly, no one was prepared for the announcement from Publisher G. Duncan Bauman: "The *Globe-Democrat* will print its final edition Dec. 31, ending 131 years of daily publication."

The loss of the *Globe-Democrat* will leave metropolitan St. Louis (pop. 1.8 million) with only one regional newspaper, the 105-year-old *Post-Dispatch*. It will also shrink to 50 the number of U.S. cities with independently owned, editorially competitive dailies. The failure defied several newspaper-industry rules of thumb: the morning *Globe-Democrat* (daily circ. 255,000) is bigger than the afternoon *Post-Dispatch* (daily circ. 230,000); it is published at what is considered a more advantageous time of day; and it is, at least in terms of local coverage, the better paper. Nonetheless, the economic calculations behind last week's announcement were compelling. To its owners, Missouri's oldest daily was worth more dead than alive.



The conservative *Globe-Democrat*, owned by the giant (27 dailies) Newhouse chain, and the liberal *Post-Dispatch*, flagship of the Pulitzer group, are editorially separate. But they share advertising, circulation and business staffs under one of 24 newspaper joint operating agreements (JOA) approved by the U.S. Department of Justice. The papers also pool their profits, except that there have been no profits for four of the past five years. Moreover, Newhouse executives saw little prospect of improvement, and even less that the community-minded Pulitzer family would close the *Post-Dispatch*.

But under the terms of the JOA, if either paper were to shut down, its owners would share profits for 50 years in the surviving daily, a potentially lucrative monopoly. Last summer, after negotiations, the Newhouse and Pulitzer interests applied secretly for Justice Department approval of a collaborative shutdown of the *Globe-Democrat*. They won it last week.

As word of the unorthodox financial arrangement spread among *Globe-Democrat* staffers, some denounced the deal as a violation of the spirit of antitrust legislation. Yet the plan appeared to be legal. For the record, the Newhouse chain was compelled to offer the *Globe-Democrat* for sale last week, and the Justice Department then obtained the names of more than a dozen potential buyers. Assistant Attorney General William Baxter stipulated: "If one or more satisfactory expressions of interest are received before 5:30 p.m. on Nov. 22, a reasonable opportunity will be provided by Newhouse and Pulitzer to negotiate the purchase of the *Globe-Democrat* before it is discontinued." A sale, however, would place the newspaper outside the joint operating agreement. Few observers expect any serious offer, for the paper would have no ensured means of printing and no substantial assets except its name and staff.

Samuel I. Newhouse bought the *Globe-Democrat* in 1955 from Edward Lansing Ray, a third-generation owner who hoped that his successor would preserve the paper's combative Republicanism and independence. Although Newhouse bargained away the building and presses to the *Post-Dispatch* in 1959 and began to pool profits with his rival two years later, he and his heirs have endorsed local editorial control, and the paper's strident voice has been retained: cartoons depict Communist leaders with hands dripping blood; editorials have termed U.S. District Judge William Hungate, who ordered citywide school desegregation, "Attila the Hungate."

Despite its ferocity, the *Globe-Democrat* has won grudging general respect. Said *Post-Dispatch* Publisher Joseph Pulitzer Jr., whose paper was a frequent target: "The *Globe-Democrat* has been a vigorous news source and a spirited defender of its values." ■

Lights Out

Wee-hours TV news flops

It looked like fertile territory for network TV news. Stymied by the resistance of affiliate stations to proposals for an hour-long evening newscast, troubled by the growth of Ted Turner's round-the-clock Cable News Network, and eager for new advertising opportunities, all three networks turned last year to the post-midnight, wee-hours wasteland of reruns and B movies. NBC and ABC each added an hour of late, late news; CBS added four. Vowed NBC News President Reuven Frank: "If changing life-styles mean people are ready to watch, we will do programs for them."

Little more than a year later, the boom has gone bust. ABC canceled its late-night effort, and may trim the expanded 60-minute *Nightline* back to half an hour. CBS has reduced its *Nightwatch* to two live hours plus repeats, and last week announced further on-air staff cuts. Also last week, the ax fell on the best of the shows, NBC's *Overnight*, which drew 1.5 million households a night but lost $10 million. Said Executive Producer Deborah Johnson: "Apparently cable is no longer viewed as such a threat." Explained Frank: "*Overnight* was our finest hour, but the cost was much greater than the income." ■

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BUCKLE UP FOR SAFETY

Evangelist of the Marketplace

The FCC's Mark Fowler wants to strip away TV regulations

When he was spinning platters at a poky rock-'n'-roll station in Gainesville, Fla., during the late '60s, "Madman Mark," as he was then known, chafed at the public service programs he was required to air. So he buried them in the doldrums of the early morning hours. Fifteen years later, balding, bespectacled Mark Fowler still does not much care for public service programming. But now, as chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, he can do something about it. Indeed, Fowler's goal is to free broadcasters from nearly all of the thousands of FCC rules, policies and doctrines requiring that "the public interest be served." He rejects the fundamental FCC tenet that broadcasters must demonstrate social responsibility in exchange for using the public air waves. "Television," asserts the man in charge of regulating the nation's 1,090 TV stations, "is just another appliance. It's a toaster with pictures."

For Fowler, the business of broadcasters is business. "Let the marketplace decide," is his anthem; "bigness is not necessarily badness," the chorus. He fervently believes that if broadcasters were allowed to battle it out, free of regulation, the result would be "more innovation, more choice, better quality and lower prices." In his utopia, the audience would regulate programming by switching channels. "Let the public's interest determine the public interest," Fowler is fond of declaring.

A meager one-hour-a-week TV watcher, Fowler, 42, came by his libertarian philosophy gradually. The son of a Toronto tobacco wholesaler, he moved to the U.S. at ten and later went to college and law school at the University of Florida. During those years, he supported himself as a disc jockey and program director for small-market radio stations. In 1968 he traveled to Indiana to work on Robert Kennedy's presidential campaign. Later, moving to Washington to join the city's busy network of communications lawyers, he came to the conclusion that the complex FCC rules "weren't really serving people well." In 1976, having moved further to the right politically, he signed on as communications counsel to Presidential Candidate Ronald Reagan. He performed the same service in 1980, and after Reagan's victory was duly rewarded with the chairmanship of the FCC.

Fowler's goals are twofold: to end the financial restrictions on how broadcasting companies do business and to strip away Government control of program content. Fowler has asked Congress to repeal the Fairness Doctrine, a touchstone of communications policy that obligates broadcasters to air opposing views on issues of public importance. He wants to eradicate the "7-7-7 Rule," which aims to promote diversity by preventing companies from owning more than seven AM, seven FM and seven TV stations. He has proposed an end to the 16-min.-per-hr. limit on television commercials. Fowler also wants to do away with the comparative renewal process, which verifies whether broadcasters are meeting minimal requirements to air nonentertainment fare such as news, public affairs and educational programming. In recent weeks the FCC has been at the center of a highly publicized controversy over the Financial Interest and Syndication Rule, which prevents the networks from owning and syndicating their own programs. Fowler wants to rescind it; but President Reagan, siding with the Hollywood producers who now hold the rights to most network programs, has urged a two-year moratorium on any changes in the rule.

EARL L. SCHUMACHER

Fowler in his Washington office: a deejay's inflections

"Let the public's interest determine the public interest."

In this as in other issues, Fowler's detractors say that his motto, "Let the marketplace decide," translates as "Let the industry decide." They contend that his stated intention of making the broadcast media as unfettered as print ignores a fundamental distinction: the number of broadcast outlets is limited, and the Government decides who gets them. "The reason for regulation," notes former FCC Chairman Charles Ferris, "is still the scarcity of the spectrum and the fact that not everyone can participate."

Fowler counters that the proliferation of new delivery systems—cable, direct broadcasting from satellites, low-power stations with a range of 15 miles—will ensure diversity and hence fairness. Moreover, he believes that commercial broadcasters should pay a fee to support educational and public service–oriented programming on public TV. But the voices of the new technologies, points out Daniel Ritchie, chairman of Westinghouse Broadcasting and Cable Inc., are still a whisper. Says Ritchie: "To paraphrase Lincoln Steffens, I have seen the future, and it's still the future. The simple fact is that cable exists for only about 40% of the people in the country. And many of the other much-talked-about new technologies are still just that: much talked about."

Fowler's principal foe in the regulatory forest is Colorado Democrat Timothy Wirth, chairman of the House Telecommunications Subcommittee. Wirth contends that Fowler has been far more vigorous in unshackling the brobdingnagians of broadcast row than in stimulating the entry of new entrepreneurs. Fowler's argument that content regulations constitute censorship and violate the First Amendment has one glaring flaw, says Wirth: the Supreme Court has consistently found them constitutional.

Wirth has introduced a bill requiring the networks to provide an hour a weekday of educational programming for children under twelve. Now, he says, there is only an hour per week. Fowler agrees that there is a "societal need" for children's programming but insists that the Government has no business requiring it. Wirth is also considering legislation that would make the renewal process more objective. The idea is to establish quotas for public service programming—say, 2% children's, 5% news—that would have to be met by all stations.

Despite their differences, Wirth, like nearly all of Fowler's critics, finds him engaging and open to argument. Fowler may be a purist in his principles, but he is a pragmatist in his dealings with politicians. Says he, in a voice that retains a deejay's mellifluous inflections: "There are times when you have to compromise; you can't get everything you want. You should not be too much of a martyr or anoint yourself for sainthood." At the moment, Fowler seems willing to settle for being an evangelist. ***—By Richard Stengel. Reported by Peter Ainslie/New York and Jay Branegan/Washington***

More Debates?

Equal-time rule eased

The change is tiny: an adjustment of an exemption in a regulation. But the implications are national. Last week the Federal Communications Commission, in the latest of Chairman Mark Fowler's moves to free the television industry from content regulations, ruled that broadcasters may stage political debates between candidates of their own choosing without necessarily having to grant equal time to those excluded. Fowler maintained that the decision would "permit, encourage and foster increased political debate."

Under the longstanding equal-time rule, broadcasters who made time available to one candidate were required to do so for all the others, no matter how minor. Thus, the candidate for, say, the Antivivisectionist Party was entitled to the same exposure as a Democrat or Republican. Designed to encourage debate, the rule actually stifled it. The networks avoided the burden of providing time to marginal candidates by giving less time to any of them.

One compromise was for outside groups to arrange debates between major-party candidates, which were then covered by the networks as "bona fide news events," a designation that placed them outside the equal-time requirement. Notable examples: the televised debates between Ronald Reagan and President Jimmy Carter in 1980 and between Carter and President Gerald Ford in 1976, which were sponsored by the League of Women Voters. Now network or station-sponsored debates will themselves be considered news events.

Executives of the three commercial networks happily predict a marked increase in the number of televised debates. NBC, ABC and CBS have already dispatched telegrams to the Democratic and Republican National Committees inviting candidates to participate in on-air debates some time next year. Broadcasters maintain that they will be able to bring greater flair to staging the encounters than the league was able to do. Says CBS Senior Vice President Gene Mater: "We can do a better job. Communications is our business."

Others are not so sure. Dorothy S. Ridings, president of the League of Women Voters, believes that the decision allows broadcasters "to make as well as cover news," giving them far too much power in the process. Andrew Schwartzman, head of the Media Access Project in Washington, contends that since local broadcasters are likely to have "family, business partners and friends involved in local politics," their judgment in choosing candidates for station-sponsored debates might be suspect.

Whether the decision maximizes coverage of the candidates, or simply minimizes the restraints on broadcasters to cover the candidates as they see fit, remains to be seen. It will be up to the viewer and the voter to decide. ■

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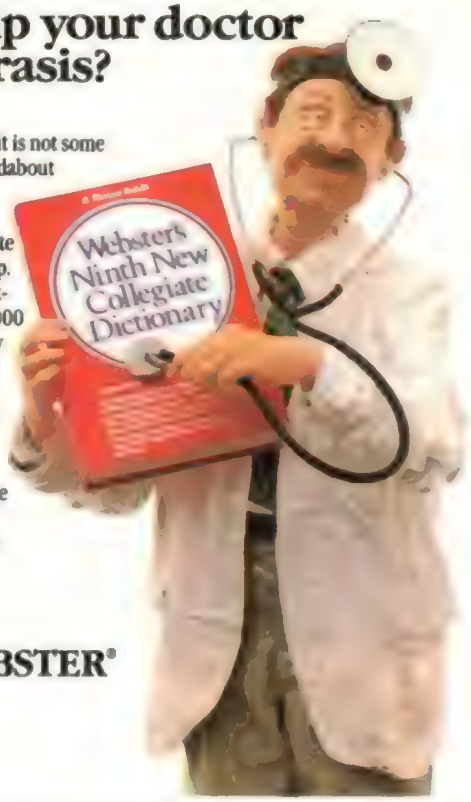

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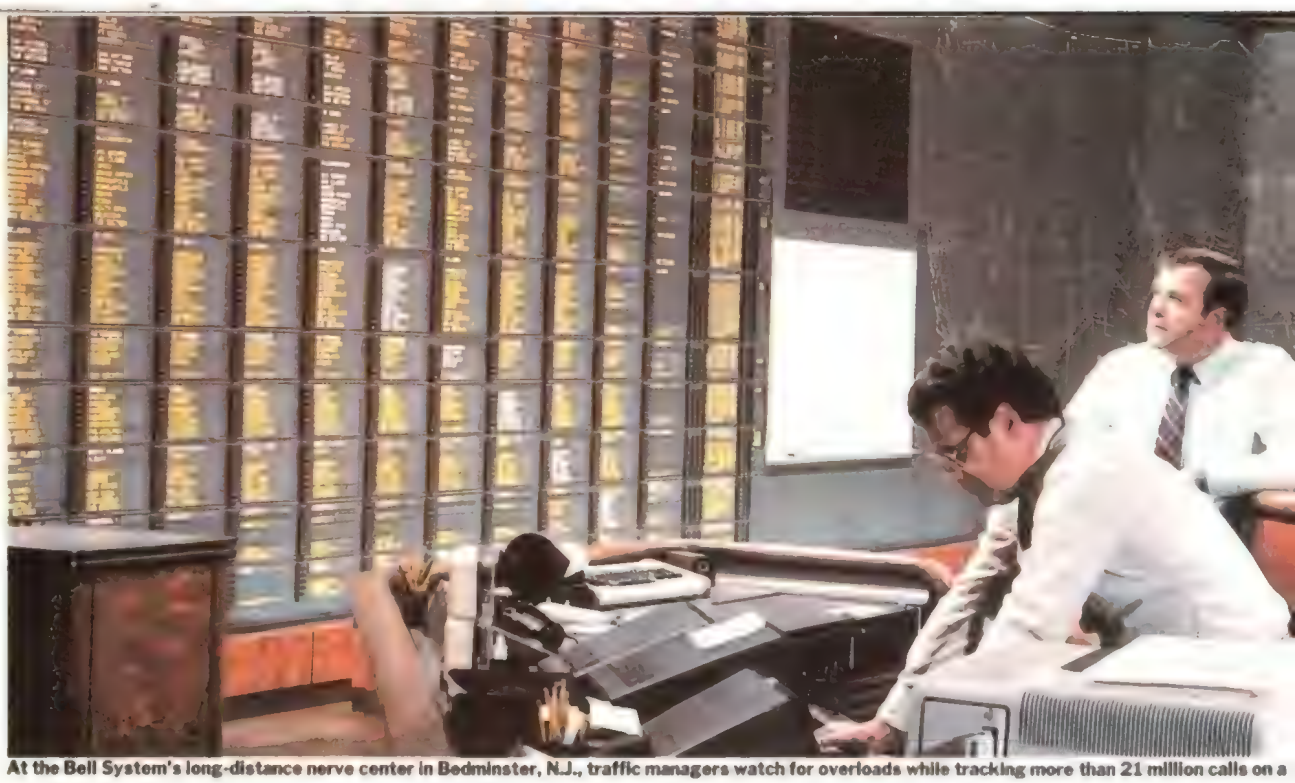


At the Bell System's long-distance nerve center in Bedminster, N.J., traffic managers watch for overloads while tracking more than 21 million calls on a

Economy & Business

COVER STORY

Click! Ma Is Ringing Off

The breakup of giant A T & T sets the stage for a telecommunications upheaval

Time is running out for the largest company on earth. Ending too is a long era of inexpensive phone service that Americans have taken for granted. But just on the horizon, heralding its arrival with the attention-getting power of a jillion jangling telephones, is a revolution in telecommunications. Propelled by both marketing and technology, the coming changes will rank second in importance only to the establishment of the U.S. telephone system itself, acknowledged as the world's best.

It all starts happening on New Year's Day, just six weeks from now. Under the banner of promoting competition in the U.S. phone service, American Telephone & Telegraph, the Bell System, will die at age 107, shattered in the largest court-mandated breakup of a company since the split-up of Standard Oil in 1911. In place of the old Ma Bell will stand the "new" A T & T and seven regional telephone holding companies, all beginning life as giants and carrying such unfamiliar names as Nynex, Ameritech, U S West and Pacific Telesis. The eight new companies will immediately join the ranks of the 50 largest U.S. corporations in terms of assets.

The breakup will affect all of America's millions of phone users in ways large and small. Instead of receiving a single monthly bill for phone service, for example, consumers may now get three or more: one for local service, another from one of A T & T's proliferating competitors for long-distance tolls, and one from A T & T Information Systems for the lease of the telephone. Many people who previously rented their phones, though, may now buy them outright. Next week A T & T will launch the biggest private direct-mail operation in history. It will send brochures to 70 million customers telling them that under divestiture it will be taking over ownership of their telephone equipment. Consumers currently renting phones will be given options to buy them, continue leasing them, or purchase new equipment from A T & T or from non-Bell suppliers like Uniden or GTE.

For the moment the clearest thing about the breakup of A T & T is the confusion. As recently as last week, it was unclear, for instance, whether local phone companies had the right to offer phone services like weather and time of day after Jan. 1. The gigantic physical task of divvying the Bell System's assets among the new parts, from whole telephone exchanges down to trucks, repair equipment, paper clips and brooms, is still going on. Though phone service has not been hampered, companies trying to do business with Bell report that they sometimes have trouble finding out who is in charge of an office or division.

Much of the American public seems bewildered about the breakup. Polls show that only one in five people knows what is about to happen to their phone system. Says Cecil Woods, 33, a Chicago maintenance worker: "I think it's supposed to be a good thing for everybody, but I don't quite understand how. I just hope something good comes of it, and I think it will."

Even among those who are aware that something big is on the way, there is gnawing concern that telephone service will suffer. Says Yale Professor Stephen Ross, an expert on telecommunications: "We may be trading in a Cadillac for a Ford." Frets Senator Barry Goldwater, normally a fan of freer markets and less government regulation: "We're going to be sorry that we tampered with a system that was functioning well. I wish

typical day. The torrent of messages began 107 years ago with the statement: "Mr. Watson—come here—I want to see you" TED THAI

this divestiture had never happened."

Consumers seem apprehensive—and concerned. Colleen Todd, 32, a writer for a Tulsa ad agency, says, "Ideally, I think breaking up the monopoly was the thing to do. But realistically, I'm not sure it was the thing to do. I don't think it's necessarily a bargain for the consumer." Says Wilbur E. McCoy, 42, a machinist from Akron: "From what I hear, it's going to cost me more money for them to break up a monopoly. To tell you the truth, I never looked at A T & T as a monopoly, but I guess that's what it is." Worries Dorothea White, 86, a widow living alone in Los Angeles: "I think it'll make my phone bills go up. I don't really see why they had to break it up. It was a good system, and it seemed to be working."

Those concerns about higher phone bills have been heard by vote-sensitive Washington politicians, who are rushing in with legislation to keep prices down. Last week, despite heavy opposition from A T & T's lobbyists and the Reagan Administration, the House passed decisively a proposal to ban a surcharge on local phone bills that was to be part of an overall restructuring of phone prices.

To Wall Streeters and communications-industry executives, the breakup presents countless questions and, particularly for stockbrokers, the opportunity to make a great deal of money. Will the new parts of A T & T be equal to the whole? How well will the new companies adjust to the world of competition after decades of guaranteed prices and government regulation? Will the corporate culture of the old Bell System, with its emphasis on service, be lost or weakened?

A T & T and its seven new sisters will begin answering some of the questions this week, when they file stock-registration statements with the Securities and Exchange Commission, along with volumes of financial projections as big as Manhattan phone books. What investors think of the new companies' prospects will start becoming clear later this month, when something like 655 million shares of seven holding companies begin showing up on the New York Stock Exchange. They will be offered on a "when issued" basis, meaning they will be traded as if they already existed, even though the stock certificates will not be delivered until mid-February.

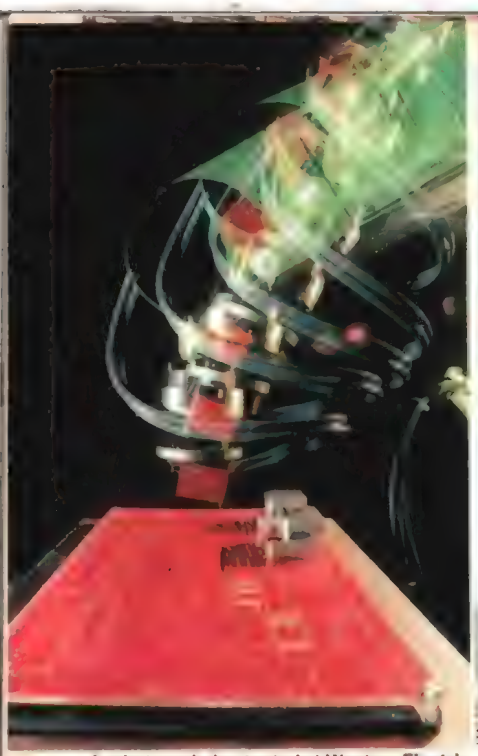
A total of 3.2 million individuals and organizations own shares in A T & T, the paradigmatic "widows and orphans" investment, making it the most widely held security in the world. People now holding A T & T stock will keep those shares, which will automatically be equity in the new A T & T. And for every ten of those shares, they will receive one share in each of the seven regional companies. Investors with fewer than ten shares will receive cash for their partial holding.

Just printing the new stock certificates cost $2 million. Distributing them and dealing with other transfer details of the new issue require an A T & T staff of 1,400, housed in a three-story building in Jacksonville. Individual investors with ten to 499 shares will be able to swap stock ownership among the seven new regional companies through A T & T at a cost of 25¢ per share until mid-April.

But there will also be plenty of trading on Wall Street. The New York Stock Exchange is adding a computer to the three it already uses just to keep up with an anticipated 15 million-share-a-day increase in trading volume.

What should an A T & T investor do? Buy, sell or hold? Experienced Wall Streeters advise: do nothing immediately, just wait for the chaos to subside. Once it does, investors could begin trading out of one holding company and into another or concentrate their investment in the new A T & T. Merrill Lynch, Dean Witter and several other brokerages have set up mutual or trust funds made up of stocks from all the new companies. The accounts, called Humpty Dumptys, in effect put A T & T

The company's symbol of strength and speed



A robot arm being tested at Western Electric

Wonder wire: a strand of glass fiber, here illuminated by laser, can carry voices on light waves

back together again for an investor.

The American phone network and the A T & T divestiture are collections of superlatives. After all, the Bell System has spread telephones just about everywhere imaginable in America, from the bottom of the Grand Canyon to the 106th floor of New York City's World Trade Center. Americans make more than 800 million phone calls a day and have twice as many telephones (183 million) as home toilets (87 million).

The breakup of A T & T has so many possible ramifications that few people even pretend to understand it thoroughly. Wall Street firms have held dozens of investor seminars on the divestiture, all run by veteran staffers bristling with law degrees and M.B.A.s. But at one session last month, "I don't know" was a tellingly frequent response from, among others, panelist Alfred Kahn, chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board under Jimmy Carter. An expert on the telephone industry, Kahn presided over the deregulation of U.S. airlines in the late 1970s and is now a professor of political economy at Cornell. Says Ulric Weil, telecommunications analyst for investment bank Morgan Stanley: "No honest observer can claim to know where this is all going." Agrees Peter J. Jadrosich, a vice president of Paine Webber Jackson & Curtis: "We believe historical performance may be nearly irrelevant to predicting future success."

History, in the case of the Bell System, goes back more than a century, to March 10, 1876. That was the day Alexander Graham Bell, 29, sent his booming voice over a wire to an assistant: "Mr. Watson—come here—I want to see you." Bell's patent, which was actually filed before he built a working telephone, made possible the construction of the American phone network.

It was Theodore N. Vail, though, who invented the Bell System. Brilliant, sweeping, subtle, an organizing genius with uncanny foresight, Vail was boss from 1878 to 1887, during which time he put together all the pieces of the modern goliath. He built up an engineering department to develop new phone technology, and a manufacturing department to build telephone equipment. All the while he systematically sought to exclude non-Bell phone companies from his network. But Vail felt thwarted by Boston financiers more interested in fast profits than his far-reaching ideas, and so he quit at 42 and went into retirement.

In 1907, after a 20-year absence, bankers summoned Vail back to save A T & T from financial ruin. The company was a mess. The original Bell patents had expired. Populists were attacking the firm over rates, and farmers were organizing their own telephone companies. The system was becoming technically obsolete; independents offered dial phones before Bell. Within a decade, Vail had transformed A T & T into a communications power. By the time he died in 1920, he had set the foundation for vigorous growth. Indeed, A T & T by 1929 was the first corporation to generate annual revenues of more than $1 billion.

In a series of famous essays, Vail put forth the idea that fatter profits are not the be-all and end-all of a corporation. Service counts more, he wrote, and the Bell System could deliver it best by being a regulated monopoly that struck a balance between public and private interests. In a 1908 advertising campaign, Vail sounded the theme that prevailed until the current divestiture: "One system, one policy, universal service."

Monopoly, to Vail, meant that A T & T would have U.S. telephone service mostly to itself, in exchange for submitting its rates to federal and state regulatory authorities for approval. Non-Bell phone companies, which handled about half the phones in the U.S. at that time, did not like that idea. Neither did the Federal Government. It questioned Bell at every turn. As far back as 1913, when European phone systems were being nationalized, the Postmaster General advocated Government ownership of the phone system. But a privately controlled monopoly seemed to be the most efficient way to run a national phone system, and Vail's concept won out.

A T & T's quasi-monopoly, however, was always an uncomfortable arrangement. The company wanted to get into related fields like computers when they began developing; other firms were eager to enter the phone business; and the Government was worried by the size and power of the telephone giant. In a far-reaching decision, the FCC in 1968 allowed a Texas firm to sell a device called a Carterfone, which connected mobile radios to A T & T lines. It was the first time any non-Bell product had ever won the right to be wired into the Bell System and was the first electronic breach in the monopoly.

One by one, other bars to competition began to fall. By the end of the 1960s certain forms of long-distance telecommunications other than Bell's were approved by the FCC. Still, Bell supplied 79.5% of U.S. telephone service. That was too much, said antitrust enthusiasts. On Nov. 20, 1974, the Justice Department filed a

Worker installing high-tech gear atop a pole

At a retail outlet in a shopping mall, styles range from basic black to Mickey Mouse

suit to break off Western Electric, the telephone company's manufacturing division, from the rest of A T & T.

The Justice Department's suit dragged on endlessly in court like the Jarndyce and Jarndyce case in Dickens' *Bleak House*. The first judge in the case died and was replaced in 1978 by Judge Harold Greene, a refugee from Nazi Germany who had helped draw up the Civil Rights Act of 1964 while working in the Justice Department. Greene conducted more than 18 months of hearings, pretrial discovery and major filings by the parties. Not until January 1981 did the trial begin.

By then, the feeling was growing among officials of both A T & T and the Government that the time had come to settle the case. A T & T wanted to catch up with the communications revolution that was increasingly blurring the lines between computers and telephones, but it was unable to get into that business because of its status as a regulated monopoly. Competitors were itching to get closer to phone users, but A T & T's monopoly kept them from doing much more than chipping away at that market. The new Reagan Administration wanted to settle the longstanding case. In a stunning move on Jan. 8, 1982, the Justice Department and A T & T struck a deal to break up the Bell System.

Greene did not immediately accept their deal. Meticulously, he read 8,000 pages of comments and interviewed 600 witnesses. Among those who spoke out in opposition to the breakup was Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who said that dealing with an array of companies could threaten national defense and drive up communications costs. Greene also reviewed 25,000 pages of trial transcripts. Many months passed, with Greene raising objections along the way, continually shaping and modifying the parts that were now to be independent. In August 1983, Greene gave final approval to the divestiture agreement.

Whether the company was guilty of antitrust-law violations has never been proved, although some suits by competitors have yet to be resolved. Some Wall Streeters think A T & T gave in too easily and in fact could have struck some sort of compromise short of total breakup. But all that is now academic. As A T & T Chairman Charles Brown says of divestiture: "The ship has left the dock."

The A T & T vessel that is lifting anchor has $155 billion in assets. It is bigger than GM, Mobil and Exxon combined. With nearly a million employees, it is the second largest employer in America, behind only the U.S. Government. Its annual spending of $17 billion equals about 4% of all U.S. capital investment. Its Bell Laboratories, incubator of the transistor, the laser and Direct Distance Dialing, is the world's foremost industrial research organization. Western Electric makes 80% of all the telephone equipment used in America, including most of A T & T's 827 million miles of copper wire.

After Jan. 1, each of the eight brobdingnagian pieces of the old A T & T will sell conventional regulated telephone services but will also be free to venture into certain nonregulated communications fields. The parts:

The "new" A T & T. With about $35 billion in assets, it will be far smaller than the old A T & T. Yet the firm will still be as big as Mobil, and twice as large as GTE, its nearest competitor. Moreover, it will be a powerhouse of money, research talent and manufacturing muscle. Bell Labs and Western Electric will remain parts of the new entity.

To the average citizen, the most familiar part of the shrunken firm will be A T & T Communications. Essentially Bell's former Long Lines Division, it will provide long-distance service as well as the familiar WATS (Wide Area Telephone Service) lines and 800 Area Code calling. These will account for more than half the new company's revenues, perhaps $35 billion.

But more jazzy things are in store, as seen in some of A T & T's sci-fi television ads. Those stress the more glamorous unregulated activities of information systems for business—services like teleconferencing and data processing. In those areas A T & T now will be free to square off with IBM, Burroughs and Honeywell.

At its Western Electric facilities, A T & T will make telephone equipment for sale to consumers and all kinds of exotic electronic whizmos like powerful memory chips for computers. Through A T & T International, the company has already struck a deal with N.V. Philips' Gloeilampenfabrieken of The Netherlands to sell switching equipment throughout the world. Says Gerrit Jeelof, head of Philips' Telecommunications Division: "It was a natural marriage between two of the most desirable partners in the world." The new subsidary will pit A T & T against GTE and ITT in the European market, which it abandoned in 1925 to concentrate on the U.S. telephone system. A T & T and Philips could pry open an unusually tough market long closed to outside suppliers because of dominance by state-owned

post, telephone and telegraph services.

Regional holding companies. The 22 local Bell telephone operating companies will continue much as before, collecting revenues from Yellow Pages (around $3.6 billion at present), mailing bills to customers under the familiar names of Michigan Bell, New York Telephone, or whatever, and providing phone service in all states except Alaska and Hawaii, which have independent firms. But the 22 will be stitched together into huge new holding companies that are roughly equal in numbers of telephones and potential revenues. The holding companies, with small staffs at the top, will be free to tread where no phone company has ever gone, into almost any nonregulated business, except manufacturing telephones or certain kinds of information processing. Some have chosen to use the Bell name and logo, a privilege that Greene denied the parent A T & T, while others have attempted to get away from the dowdy image of the "telephone company."

The new Bell companies: Nynex of New York City will cover New York and parts of six New England states; Bell Atlantic of Philadelphia will serve New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia and the District of Columbia; BellSouth of Atlanta will have customers in Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee; Ameritech of Chicago will reach the heartland states of Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio and Wisconsin; Southwestern Bell of St. Louis will join Arkansas, Kansas, Texas, Missouri and Oklahoma; U S West of Denver will cover the largest geographical area, 14 states in the Midwest, Rocky Mountains and Northwest; and Pacific Telesis of San Francisco will oversee California and Nevada.

Who got the choicest cuts in the carving up of the Bell System is a matter of intense debate among industry analysts. Some feel that A T & T walked off with what was really important in the network, leaving only one-third of the revenue-generating capability to the operating compa-

"Hi, I'm Charlie Brown"

The decision was the most difficult Charles Lee Brown had ever confronted during a 37-year career with the telephone company. Yet on the night the A T & T chairman made up his mind not to fight the Justice Department's plan to break up the Bell System, he squelched all second thoughts and slept soundly. "If I worried after a decision," he says, "I'd be a basket case, and I don't do that." Armed with such self-assurance, Brown, 62, has for nearly two years calmly dealt with criticism, fears and confusion among customers, employees, shareholders and Congressmen while presiding over the most extensive reorganization in U.S. corporate history. Says Belton Johnson, a Texas ranch owner and a director of A T & T: "Charlie Brown's done an amazing job. Nobody could have done it better."

DAVID STRICK

The chairman: unflashy but unflappable

A graceful, gray-haired man with an easygoing smile, Brown is as unpretentious as a telephone repairman, perhaps because he has fixed a few phones in his time. "Hi, I'm Charlie Brown," he introduces himself. Throughout all the congressional hearings, bargaining sessions with the Government and marathon staff meetings surrounding the divestiture, he has kept a self-effacing sense of humor. On one arduous day, an employee accidentally trod on Brown's foot in an elevator at A T & T's Manhattan headquarters. "Oh, that's O.K.," Brown said. "Everybody's stepping on me nowadays."

Brown admits that his deal with the Government was a retreat from A T & T's longtime resistance to a breakup. "Divestiture was not our idea," he says, "and we think it is wrong from the standpoint of the country's interests." But the alternative seemed bleaker: "Time was not on our side. The Government's determination to restructure the Bell System would have gone on for years, draining our energy and preventing us from planning our own future." Rather than cling to the past, Brown was eager to get on with the "exciting" task of building the new A T & T.

Even so, the breakup is almost like a divorce in the family for Brown. A native of Richmond, he is a Bell brat. His mother had been a Bell operator before getting married, and his father spent 37 years with the company, eventually rising to district traffic manager in Richmond. While earning a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering at the University of Virginia, Brown worked two summers as an A T & T ditchdigger and cable layer, making $13 a week. After joining the Navy during World War II and serving as a radioman in the Pacific Fleet, he became an equipment maintenance man for A T & T in Hartford, Conn., in 1946.

Showing more versatility than flash, Brown climbed up A T & T's corporate telephone pole step by step, going through 23 jobs in nine cities. He became president of Illinois Bell Telephone in 1969 and earned a place in A T & T lore by making service calls during a repairmen's strike. After becoming chief financial officer of the parent company, he developed innovative ways to reduce A T & T's debt. As president, he began pushing A T & T forward rapidly in such advanced fields as fiber optics and electronic voice recognition.

In 1979 he became chairman, succeeding the colorful and quotable John deButts, who was a company spokesman in A T & T commercials. Brown's image has been bland by comparison. While respected for his intelligence and technical expertise, he has never been a great communicator. His speeches to groups of employees or Wall Street analysts can have a narcotic effect. Asked to explain his formula for success, he admits that "it isn't my charisma." A T & T insiders say he hides his emotions and signals distress only by growing ominously silent. On balance, that stolid style has been an asset. Says Rawleigh Warner Jr., chairman of Mobil and an A T & T director: "He's equitable, and he doesn't lose his cool. There are no highs or lows, just steadiness." Brown, who lives in Princeton, N.J., with his second wife, Ann Lee, works off much of his tension by playing tennis and at least two rounds of golf each week. His handicap: 11.

One of the few ways to get a rise out of Brown is to suggest that A T & T is a monopoly-coddled giant without the agility needed to compete in free markets. "If we're not competent," he says, "I wonder why the competitors are trying to get Congress and the Federal Communications Commission to restrict us in various ways. We must be making a mark somewhere, or the competition wouldn't be so frightened." After spending nearly four decades in a company shackled by Government regulation, Brown is eager to show what an unbound A T & T can do. He is sure that the competition will soon be saying in awe, "Good grief, Charlie Brown!"

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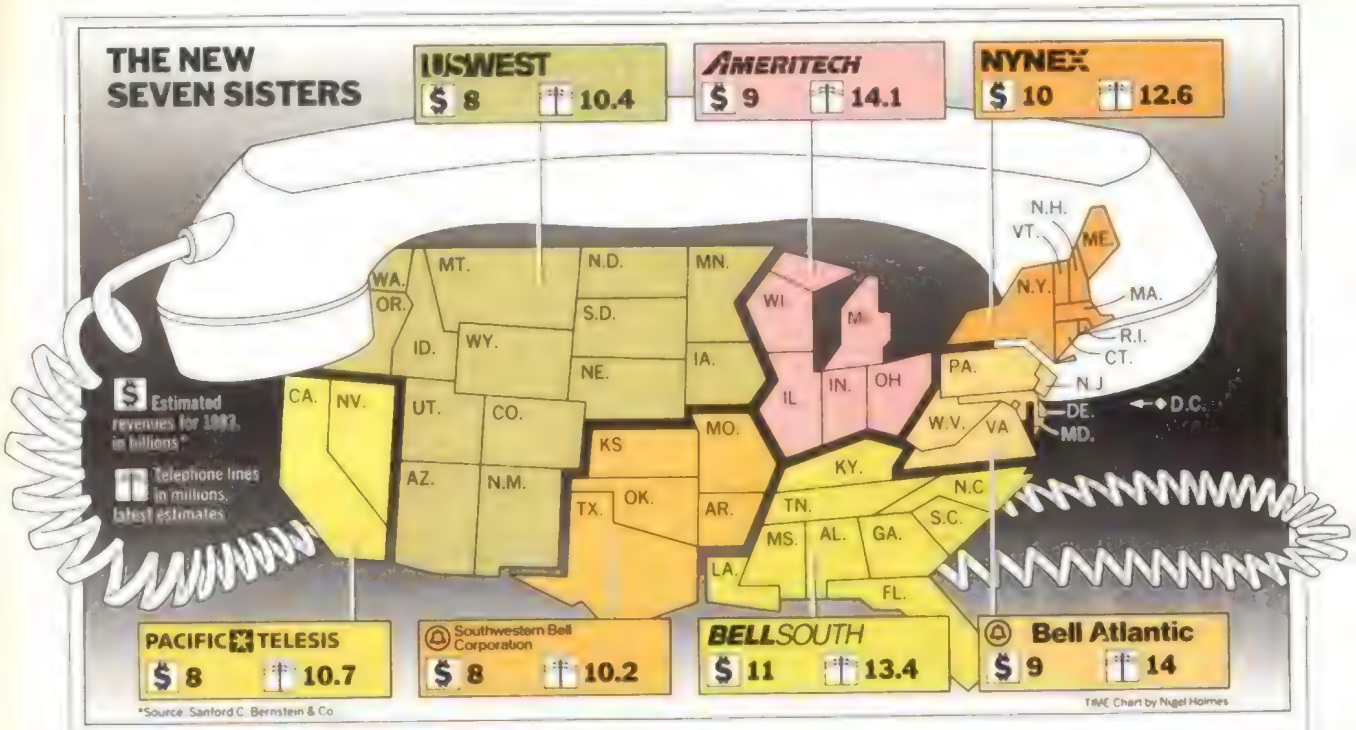

nies. Says Cornell's Kahn: "A T & T won by losing." Others believe the local companies have bright futures and good potential in their markets, although there are doubts as to just how eager their top managers, mostly old telephone-company men with decades of doing things the Bell way, are to enter the new world of competition.

Just how well the newly independent parts fare is critical to the question of how much phone bills will rise after the split. If the regionals make money, attract investors, improve efficiency and keep costs down, phone bills stand a better chance of staying reasonable. If they do not, pressure to collect money from phone users for lost revenues will increase.

Bills are destined to go up anyway, though, at least at first. Some charges, say consumer groups like Boston's Fair Share, may go up by 50% to 100% during the next twelve to 36 months. But total phone bills are not likely to increase by that much. Chairman Charles Brown estimates they will increase by only 8% to 10% a year for the next five years, slightly more than the average rate of increase since 1940.

Most industry watchers agree on one thing: telephone service has been too cheap, for too long, with costs spread unevenly. Says Lee Selwyn, president of Economics and Technology Inc. of Boston, a telecommunications consultant: "People were simply not aware of how cheap service really was."

Thomas Bolger, the new chairman of Bell Atlantic, is fond of pointing out that the prices of other commonplace products like a Chevrolet have increased about 1,000% since 1940, while the average basic monthly U.S. telephone rate has gone up from $3.67 to just $11.38 during that period, or by 210%. A private line to a dwelling in Great Falls, Mont., costs about $8 "for access to the world," says U S West Chief Executive Jack MacAllister, while it costs $30 to install and maintain the connection. Even if that basic monthly bill doubles, to $16, it is "still only about the price of a tank of gasoline," he says.

The level of telephone bills after divestiture will depend on whether the user is an individual or a business, how many local and long-distance calls are made, over what distance and for how long. The entire philosophical underpinning of pricing phone services is changing, a departure much in line with the national thrust toward deregulation in many other fields. In essence, Americans are going to begin paying more and more of the full and true cost of phone services they use. At the same time, they will not pay as much for those they do not use.

Federal Judge Harold Greene in his chambers
His homework: 25,000 pages of transcripts.

That has seldom, if ever, been the case. Through a complex system of cross subsidies, brilliant in concept but worrisome in practice, one type of phone service has helped pay for another. That kept phone costs down and within almost everyone's reach, but led to price inequities. A phone line in San Francisco that cost Pacific Telephone $29 to install and maintain monthly was billed to the customer at $7. The difference was made up by higher prices for other services, like heavy tolls for calls from one end of the Bay Area to the other. Similar subsidies allowed the dime for a pay phone call in New York City; the true cost is more like 28¢.

Without some congressional action, a big chunk of the cross-subsidy system is going to disappear, putting fierce upward pressure on bills for local phone services. Regional phone companies stand to lose about $3.3 billion in revenues that they received from A T & T's long-distance tolls when they were still under Ma Bell's roof. Currently, about 37¢ from each dollar in revenues from long-distance charges is plowed back into the local companies.

To compensate for the loss, the regional phone firms are going to have to get money from somewhere. That means phone subscribers in general can expect higher prices for almost all aspects of local service, fees that in the past were bundled in packages and, for the most part, never seen by users. Rates will certainly go up for local services like calls to the grocery down the street or to the pharmacy. Higher rates are in store for calls to distant points within states, along with sharp escalations in

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Wednesday Oct 26 (11:25 PM)
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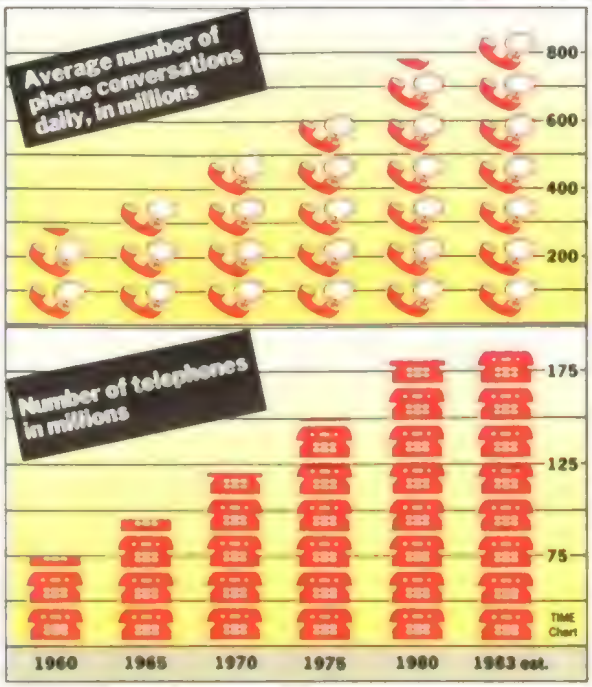
fees for local directory assistance, phone-line installation and pay telephones.

The Federal Communications Commission has proposed one way of helping local companies make up for part of the loss of the long-distance subsidy. It has called for customers to pay local phone companies for access to long-distance lines. The monthly access charge would start at $2 and could rise to $6 or $7 by 1989. Businesses would pay $6 at the beginning. But the proposal is running into trouble. Legislation proposed by Colorado's Democratic Congressman Timothy Wirth and Oregon's Republican Senator Bob Packwood would eliminate the charge to private individuals and small businessmen and shift it back to A T & T and other long-distance phone companies. Theodore Brophy, chairman of GTE, calls the access charge "an unmanageable economic burden on those who make minimum use of long-distance service."



Wirth's bill passed the House last week, but Senate action is not expected until next year. In any case, the FCC last month delayed the fees until April 3 to give itself more time to study A T & T's arguments in favor of the surcharge.

When the long-distance subsidy stops, A T & T will find itself with an additional $3.3 billion a year, and has proposed giving some of that money back to consumers by cutting the cost of long-distance calls by 10.5%. Critics point out that this would add up to a reduction of only $1.75 billion, or about half the amount A T & T is getting. Says John Bryant, a Congressman from Texas, in a medley of metaphors: "They're trying to have their cake and eat it too. That put the last nail in the coffin of A T & T as a truthteller." Judge Greene will conduct a hearing into the entire matter next week.

The latest House action disturbs many industry officials, including Archie McGill, a former IBM vice president, onetime head of A T & T Information Systems and now president of Rothschild Ventures. Says he: "It's a real tragedy that Congress is poking its nose in at this point. The game plan is in place. To shake it up for two bucks a month is just not rational."

The $2 surcharge is not the only rate increase in the works. Local phone companies have been madly filing for price hikes with state public service commissions. A total of $6.7 billion in increases has been requested this year. The outlook for those applications is uncertain, and public service commissions are expected to be tough with the phone companies.

By asking for so much so soon, some of the operating companies have expended goodwill even before getting started. Judge Greene has accused them of using divestiture as an excuse to request more money, and called some of the requests "unjustified."

One of the biggest questions facing the new A T & T is how well it will do in the world of competition. For most of its 107 years, the phone company has been shielded from rivals by its controlled monopoly status. Wall Street analysts and industry experts disagree on how successful A T & T will be. In general, the new A T & T is expected to excel at its traditional business of long-distance telephone service. But it may run into trouble when it tries to take on other markets. Says ITT Chairman Rand Araskog: "A T & T has to learn all over to compete. It has definitely lagged behind technology and the competition."

The most interesting competitive skirmish to come out of the telephone divestiture will be the head-on confrontation between A T & T and IBM. A T & T, which is now free to enter the computer market in full force, has the size and resources to match IBM. The phone company has been making computers largely for its own use for a generation; most telephone calls are switched by computers developed by A T & T for the Bell System. For legal reasons, though, they were called microprocessors. Says Vice Chairman James Olson: "We can now call them computers without looking over our shoulder." A T & T will have a desktop business computer ready early next year. The machine will probably be built around a super chip that has more than 256,000 bytes of random access memory. Says Robert Casale, head of marketing and sales for A T & T Information Systems: "We will be selling the leading edge of technology. Nobody can touch us."

Another bruising market battle will be over long-distance service, where a host of companies are trying to take business away from A T & T. The most aggressive has been MCI Communications, based in Washington, which since 1969 has been permitted by the FCC to offer long-distance service in competition with A T & T. Under Chairman William McGowan, 54, MCI has grown to more than 1 million subscribers (*vs.* A T & T's 70 million) and to $1.1 billion in sales.

MCI and the other new competitors in the long-distance market, GTE's Sprint and ITT's Longer Distance, have been able to offer sharply discounted long-distance rates. The firms connect only markets with heavy phone traffic, where the big profits are, using the most modern equipment, leaving to A T & T the smaller, less profitable areas. But some potential customers considered the low-cost competitors inconvenient because customers have to punch in up to eleven extra numbers to make a call. An MCI customer making a long-distance call has to hit as many as 22 digits. Beginning next fall, though, all long-distance lines will be on an equal footing. Whether a customer is using A T & T, MCI, Sprint or Longer Distance, the person will use the same dialing procedure.

A T & T's Western Electric division will face very stiff competition. It will be entering a market with such powerful competitors as Canada's Northern Telecom, Rolm, GTE and ITT. In 1982, Western did 90% of its $12.6 billion in business with the Bell companies. Now those companies will be free to buy their equipment from anyone, at the best price. They are, in fact, doing that already. This year three Bell companies reached deals with TIE/Communications of Connecticut for $125 million worth of switchboards.

Western Electric sales could be cut in half next year, according to one particularly grim Wall Street view. That is nonsense, says Charles Meetsma, general manager of the division's plant in Allentown, Pa. Says he: "We're aware that many persons deride Western Electric's ability to compete. But to them I say, 'You haven't seen anything yet.' " With its Bell Labs providing research for ingenious new products, Western Electric is confident that it will do well.

The new regional phone companies will be kept busy at first just providing local telephone service, where they will not face competition. It will be a while before they realize big earnings from any activities other than the plain old telephone business. Says Pacific Telesis Chairman Donald Guinn: "Our first priority is to keep the core business—the Bell operating company—healthy. That's the place where most of our money comes from."

Nonetheless, the holding companies are trying to stir up investor interest by stressing glamour, growth and marketing in a rush of ads, and in talks before financial analysts. Typical is Ameritech, which uses the snappy slogan "A company you'll be hearing from." Says Chairman William L. Weiss, 54: "The future of our industry lies in exotic services. It lies in the explosion of information services."

While most of those new businesses have yet to be determined, some local phone companies have shown where they are heading. Ameritech intends to go into fiber optics, the superfine lines increasingly used as an efficient and versatile new way to carry telephone signals. Ameritech, BellSouth and the other holding companies are planning major efforts in AMPS, for Advanced Mobile Phone Service, a Bell Labs invention that currently is the hottest telecommunications innovation around. The system is expected to increase radiotelephone use in cars greatly. Buick became the first automaker to offer such a phone as an option on some 1984 models. The cost is about $3,000, but prices are bound to come down.

The seven holding companies are likely to develop in very different directions once they leave Ma Bell. BellSouth is favored by a good economic climate in the Sunbelt. Ameritech has a vast and important industrial base, but in a declining area. Pacific Telesis has battled long and hard with ratemakers reluctant to permit higher charges, so it feels tested and ready for anything. Says Chairman Guinn: "Divestiture doesn't pose any problems that are more difficult than the ones we've already faced."

Both the new A T & T and the seven operating firms are preparing for the new era of competition by looking for ways to cut costs and changing some old company habits. Managers everywhere are searching for places to slash payrolls. Some companies are turning to extensive early retirements, although layoffs have also occurred. That goes against a long tradition of Bell paternalism. To many A T & T employees who were kept on payrolls during the Depression of the 1930s, "the President" was not Franklin D. Roosevelt but A T & T President Walter Gifford.

HUGH P. BROWN

GTE

Long line rivals: Chairman Theodore Brophy

CRAIG ASHE

MCI

McGowan: "The revolution is arriving fast"

BILL KELLY

ITT

Araskog: "A T & T has to learn to compete"

Some 16,000 Bell employees already have taken early-retirement inducements, and 8,000 more are expected to do so by year's end. That could cut payrolls by $500 million a year. Pacific Telesis expects 1,400 to 1,800 people to accept early retirement. Throughout the Bell System, families are being uprooted as employees shift between the various entities. In some cases former colleagues are becoming competitors.

Perhaps the most important long-range impact of the A T & T breakup will be to speed up the already breathtaking developments in telecommunications. With more competition from more companies, progress is likely to be even faster. Says MCI's McGowan: "The technological revolution is arriving fast in the phone business. Look at that instrument on my desk. It looks like a phone, but it's really a computer. By pressing buttons, I instruct a computer to do things it's programmed to do."

One of the signs of that technological revolution is the way major corporations and state agencies are literally setting up their own phone companies. By building microwave dish antennas and aiming them at communications satellites, they can legally bypass public phone systems. That significantly cuts into the revenue of A T & T and all other phone companies. Says Gideon Gartner, a telecommunications researcher: "The danger to A T & T of bypass cannot be overestimated."

The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, working with Western Union and Merrill Lynch, is building a gigantic $84 million Teleport on New York City's Staten Island. Its 17 earth stations will be beamed at all domestic and some international satellites and will feed communications into the World Trade Cen-

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ter, skirting the phone company in New York City. Citicorp, the largest U.S. bank, is installing its own $100 million system in Wall Street's financial district, which will take most of its communications out of the phone system. Even Salt Lake City's Mormon Church is getting into the act. Its private microwave link to Brigham Young University 45 miles distant in Provo, Utah, has replaced an A T & T system and is costing Mountain Bell $42,000 annually in lost revenues.

Metropolitan phone companies are vulnerable to bypassing because so much of their business comes from so few customers. About 24% of the revenues of New York Telephone last year came from just 1% of business customers. All the bypass systems already constructed have drained as much as $32 million in revenues from the A T & T operating companies.

The promise, and the peril, of telephone bypass is typical of the new era in telecommunications. The Bell System, in the end, was done in by the rush of technology. The system's structure could not contain or protect itself against better and cheaper ways of allowing people to reach out and touch someone. Boundaries crumbled between voice and data transmission, between domestic and international calling points, between telex, submarine cable and satellite. What counted was communication between parties, sometimes machines, no matter how or where.

The new competition, plus new technology that allows more information to be carried more efficiently, will lead to a bountiful array of new uses for telephones and telephone lines *(see box)*. Says James Martin, author of *The Wired Society:* "Deregulation of the U.S. telecommunications industry will stimulate our imaginations. It will briefly raise the cost of telephone service, but in the end we'll all profit from a revamping of the system." With any luck, as a result of deregulation, the world's best telephone system could become even better. ***—By John S. DeMott. Reported by Bruce van Voorst/New York, with other bureaus***

Tomorrow's Telephones

"People have to forget the notion of dial, ring, talk and listen," says Randall Tobias, president of A T & T Consumer Products. The phone that is within easy reach of most consumers is about to undergo a dramatic transformation. It will no longer be just an instrument to call Uncle Fred in Fredonia. The phone of the future will be more mobile, do a host of different tasks and be part of a complex, far-reaching information network. Says Hans Mattes, director of A T & T's Home Communications Laboratory: "The telephone will be the cornerstone of a communication system in the home."

A T & T is already offering two new versions of its standard telephone that show the way the phone is going. Both instruments have key pads and display the date and time or the number of the person being called on calculator-style windows. The Touch-a-matic 1600 ($160) can store up to 16 phone numbers. The $680 Genesis Telesystem, which A T & T Chairman Charles L. Brown uses at home, can forward calls to another number, remember 75 alphabetized names and numbers and restrict outgoing calls.

With more and more homes empty during the day because both parents are at work and children at school, telephone manufacturers believe a variety of emergency and remote features will be hot sellers. A T & T offers a fire-alert system linking smoke alarms to phones that will dial two numbers when smoke is detected ($199 a system, $29 a link). A pocket-size medical transmitter ($49) alerts a unit ($199) that dials up to two numbers if a patient needs immediate attention. Gulf + Western's Sensaphone ($250) monitors room temperatures, sound levels and electrical systems. If a room's temperature rises above or drops below a preset level when a householder is away, perhaps because of a fire or a pipe-freezing chill, the device will automatically send a message to one of four emergency numbers. Technicom's Energy Control System, attached to a phone, allows owners to turn appliances on and off while away from home.

Cordless phones, priced around $200, first came on the market three years ago. In 1982 sales reached 2 million units, and industry observers expect that about one-third of the 19 million phones sold this year will be cordless. The walk-around phones now have a range of about 700 feet from the base unit, but they are expected to become more powerful as technology develops. Uniden, Mura, A T & T, ITT and Cobra are the major sellers of cordless models.

Cellular phones rely on low-power transmitters in designated cells, or districts, to relay signals from passing automobiles equipped with the mobile phones. Last month Ameritech Mobile Communications introduced in Chicago the first commercial cellular mobile radio service. Bell Atlantic's Mobile Systems expects to launch cellular service early next year in Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia. By 1990 1.5 million cellular phones could be operating in the U.S.

The products currently on the market, though, are nothing compared with what is about to arrive. A T & T is working on silicon chips that will recognize individual voiceprints. That way the phone could screen incoming calls or allow a person to call his or her own phone from a distant location and set off some operation like turning off the stove. The phone could even become a substitute for an apartment or house key. A microphone at the door would transmit the voice pattern to a phone. If it recognizes the voice pattern, the phone would then activate a mechanism to unlock the door.

AT&T BELL LABORATORIES

New designs emerge on a computer screen

Telephones and video screens in the future will work closely together. A T & T already sells a Sceptre videotex terminal ($900) for shopping and marketing. Several manufacturers are working on a flat-screen terminal that would display bank balances and shopping guides—or the image of a conversation partner. "The telephone will be a computer terminal as you now understand it," says Tobias.

The telephone linked to a computer screen will become enormously flexible as an information-retrieval system. Viewers will be able to look at an index on a screen and touch it or point to it to get more detailed information. For example, the viewer could point to the word Beirut in a world-news index, and the screen would project a full report on the subject. "People may see all this as new," says Mattes, "but we will simply be making available to a wider public services that already exist."

It was in 1946 that Cartoonist Chester Gould gave Dick Tracy a two-way wrist radio. A similar device may not be far off. Says Tobias: "Except for the long-life battery needed to power it, the technology for the Dick Tracy watch phone is here."

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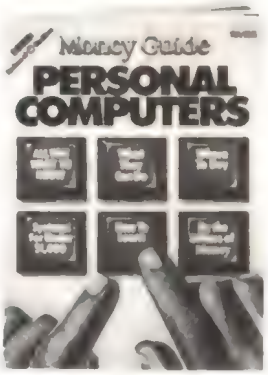

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People

Graham: 100 million and counting

"Something historic happened on this spot," said **Billy Graham,** standing in front of the Los Angeles County traffic court building where the tent had stood for his first crusade. But could it have been 34 years ago and could the evangelist be celebrating his 65th birthday? Yes on both counts. Last week 1,000 cheering fans and local politicians watched as Graham unveiled a plaque commemorating the 1949 start of his Crusade for Christ. During that eight-week stint, 350,000 listened to the young preacher; more than 100 million have done so since. "I have never changed my message. I preach the Bible, and I preach it with authority," he says with seemingly undiminished vigor. "I still feel as though I'm 20."

■

They are not one of those old brothers acts like the Everly, the Smothers or the Righteous, but **Randy** and **Dennis Quaid** occasionally find their separate acting careers intersecting. And the assignment is to play brothers. It happened first when they starred as scruffy outlaw brothers in the 1980 film *The Long Riders*. This week they will be paired again as they take over the leads in the New York City production of *True West*, Playwright **Sam Shepard's** role-switching psycho-comedy. Randy, 33, portrays a degenerate con artist who scuttles out of the desert to antagonize his straitlaced screenwriter brother, played by Dennis, 29. The sibling rivalry that propels the plot came more or less naturally for the two. "I loved to torture Dennis as a kid," explains Randy. "I get to do a lot of it in the play. It's a lot of fun." Oh yeah, says Dennis. "After this play we'll either be closer than ever before or one of us will be dead." Some guys never grow up.

■

Both exhibit an artful command of the blues in their work, but Artist **Marc Chagall,** 96, and Rolling Stones Bassist **Bill Wyman,** 47, seem an unlikely collaborative pair. Wyman, a resident of Vence in southern France, was first introduced to

The brothers Quaid in *True West*

Neighbor Chagall and his wife **Valentine** three years ago by **André Verdet,** 72, a painter, art critic and friend who was writing a book about the Russian-born impressionist. Being an amateur shutterbug, Wyman expressed an interest in taking the photographs for Verdet's volume, which will be published in France next month. The writer arranged a meeting by explaining to Chagall that the veteran rocker was discreet and modest, "not like the other members of the Rolling Stones band." Chagall and Wyman clicked, and the pair eventually settled on 20 black-and-white and color shots that gave them satisfaction. "Chagall liked him very much," says Verdet. "Normally he doesn't like to be photographed at all."

■

The woman, her back to the camera, is unblushingly and unmistakably nude. Slowly she begins to dress. At last she rises and turns to reveal—*voilà!*—a bra ($16) and panties ($9) by Berlei USA. So goes the latest milestone in the use of soft-tease hard sell: the first nude TV commercial in the U.S. The 30-second, $40,000 spot premiered last week on the cable USA Network and Cable Health Network, which together reach about 15 million subscribers. Starring in the eye-catching advertisement is **Deborah Diehl,** 25, a New York City actress whose previous appearances include an off-off-Broadway production of *Henry IV*, work as an extra in Francis Coppola's upcoming *Cotton Club* and TV plugs for Paterson Silks and Pergament paint. How does she feel about peddling panties in the buff? "It's not exactly Shakespeare," says Diehl, "but it beats selling paint." Even if it is a shade off-color.

—By Guy D. Garcia

Retail display: Diehl in eye-catching cable TV commercial

Portrait of a painter: Chagall and wife by Rocker Wyman

On the Record

Stephen Spender, British writer, on visiting a U.S. shopping mall: "It's like a zoo in which the inhabitants happen to be human beings, very excited about their new cage."

Abbie Hoffman, '60s radical, on an article suggesting *Howdy Doody* was a subversive show: "I was into *Kukla, Fran and Ollie*. *Howdy Doody* was obviously a puppet being controlled by Authoritarian Bob Smith."

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When we finished, we had 22% more power. And you have better pickup. Easier passing. And a higher top speed. Plus a few things you wouldn't expect from a more powerful engine. Like a quieter interior with engine noise reduced 50%. And better mileage with a 19% increase in EPA fuel economy.*

Now after making room for improvements, we're hoping to find space for the Vanagon in one other area.

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It's not a car. It's a Volkswagen.

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Not So Wonderful Marvelous

The winner loses some aura, the loser wins some respect

In his gentlemanly fight last week with Roberto Duran, undisputed Middleweight Champion of the World Marvin Hagler was both an evident winner and an obvious loser, perversely confirming the curious viewpoint of the Las Vegas judge who scored six of the 15 rounds for nobody. The fight was not as close as the scores indicated (on two of three cards, Duran could have taken the decision in the last round), but it was close enough to reprieve Duran as a personification of shame and to reduce Hagler as a figure of terror.

Before the battle, per that charming custom, past champions trooped through the ring, showing their beautifully squashed old faces. Beau Jack, Kid Gavilan, Jake LaMotta, Gene Fullmer, Carmen Basilio, Carlos Monzon. The last four are former middleweights, who must wonder about the state of the 160-lb. division.

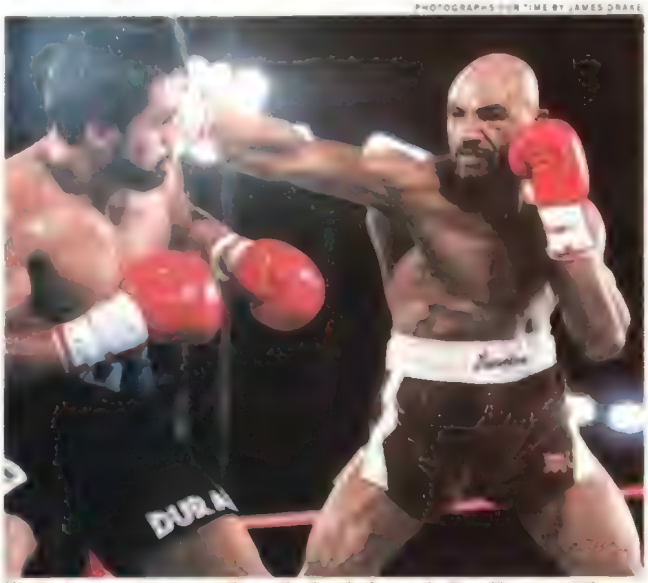
Now Duran, of course, was a lightweight in his prime, and as champion for nearly seven years he batted out 135-lb. contenders with a feral joy. But by 1979 the little Panamanian monster had eaten his way up to the welterweights (147), none of whom fell apart when he hit them, least of all Sugar Ray Leonard. Pulling something unknowable out of himself, Duran defeated Leonard in 1980, but leaving it there five months later, he quit against Leonard in disgrace. *"No más"* became the most notorious phrase in any language. Roberto lost two subsequent fights, but then knocked out former Welterweight Champion Pipino Cuevas to get a chance at Davey Moore's junior middleweight title. When he stopped Moore in June, Duran had come back virtually to Leonard, actually to Hagler.

Leonard's retirement last year was prompted by a detached retina he suffered in training, but dread of Hagler was thought to be at least a secondary consideration. A Hagler sampler: "Don't play with them, bust them up." No one could blame Hagler for the shortage of competition leading up to and during his three championship years, but the fact remained that Duran, such as he was, represented Hagler's first eminent opponent and premium payday (possibly $10 million apiece). For a change, people feared for Duran's safety. Recalling *"No más,"* even Hagler supposed, "He could be wanting to stand up and take a beating now," a theory that faded a few days before the fight when Duran eyed Hagler and pronounced, "Two days, no more champion." Smiling uncomfortably, Hagler said, "I thought the man couldn't speak English."

The first round was more a prologue to a fight than a fight. Giving away three years (32 to 29), 1 lb. (156½ to 157½), 2 in. in height (5 ft. 7½ in. to 5 ft. 9½ in.) and 8 in. in reach, Duran clearly meant to box Hagler, who began timidly. "I was a little tight," the champion said. "I tried not to give him too much respect. But he was very clever." Dipping and dodging, Duran forced him to miss, and counterpunched through the second and third rounds. But the fourth was better for Hagler, and come the fifth he began bringing Duran to his toes with uppercuts inside. Other than lightly noting Duran's familiar low blows, Greek Referee Stanley Christodoulou stayed out of it.

In the sixth, switching leads left and right, sucker-punching at every cross-over, Hagler celebrated the biggest round of the fight. Duran did not answer at all until the ninth, and not too loudly then, but the eleventh, twelfth and 13th were Duran's as Hagler's trickling left eye bubbled over and nearly closed. The Panamanians who had cursed Duran in 1980 were waving small flags and cheering, not in one voice but in pockets of song scattered about the 15,200-seat stadium outside Caesars Palace. The closed-circuit and cable audience was estimated to be 2.5 million.

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY JAMES DRAKE



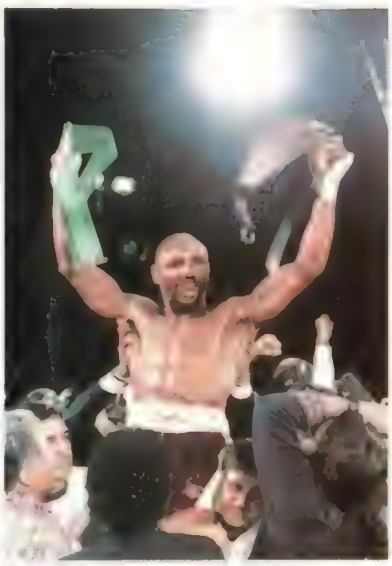
Hagler hammering away at Duran in the ninth round of Las Vegas match

Some time in the middle rounds, Duran's right hand began to ache, and anyway, Duran did well to keep his *manos de piedras* up to defend himself in the last two rounds. "Hagler had just this much better conditioning," he told his manager, Luis Spada, honestly. "Next time," Roberto pledged. The fighter was in good shape, but he will try for better. There should be no outcry for another one of these, but Duran will fight again, and again, because he is Duran.

Hagler is less secure in what he does, strangely so. "Come on, you've got to give it to me," he implored. The champion who had petitioned a court so that he might be called Marvelous asked for acceptance and almost for forgiveness. "Duran laid back, counterpunching," he said. "He's a three-time champion, a very gutsy warrior. I couldn't go in there and get foolish."

Marvelous Marvin Hagler possesses many of the virtues of the old fighters and even comes from an old fighter's town, Brockton, Mass., Rocky Marciano's town. He works out like an old fighter, hard and lonely, on the sand dunes at Provincetown. But when Hagler referred to his sore eye at the last, saying, "I didn't expect to come out pretty anyway," it was the first time he seemed at all like the old champions who had preceded him into the ring.

—By Tom Callahan



The middleweight champion is taken for a ride

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25

Subject: Introduction of the new 3.2-liter Carrera The fastest 911 ever.

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1954: The first Carrera 356 made its debut in Germany. Powered by an unconventional four-cam engine, and capable of 125 mph on the track, it was the enthusiast's car of its day.

1973: Porsche introduced the famed 911 Carrera RS. Built mainly for competition, it outperformed cars with twice the engine displacement and horsepower. That same year, the ultra-light Carrera RSR variation beat everything in sight at Daytona, swept the ISMA Camel GT series and Trans Am, and was named Europe's GT champion.

1974: A street-legal edition of the Carrera RS was introduced in the U.S. in limited numbers. It quickly established new performance standards for production sports cars.

1984: The new 911 Carrera 3.2 replaces the 911 SC. It is the classic 911 design evolved to an even higher state and the fastest 911 ever sold in America.

Its air-cooled 6-cylinder engine, refined over 19 years on the road and on the track, has been increased from 3.0 to 3.2 liters. Horsepower is up from 172 to 200. Yet, despite this added power, fuel economy has actually been increased by 25%. EPA estimated city.

Porsche 911 *Carrera*

D.M.E. Fully Integrated Electronic Fuel Injection System, the system used in the 1983 Le Mans-winning Porsche 956, has replaced earlier components.

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As with all Porsches, the 911 Carrera's handling and cornering are without parallel. An advanced rack-and-pinion steering system provides the driver with unmatched road feel. And all components of the independent suspension, right down to the optional forged alloy wheels shown, are precisely tuned to function together as a balanced system.

Despite its remarkable performance, the 911 Carrera is a luxury sports machine almost without equal. Its handcrafted interior is meticulously finished. And leather seats are standard.

The 911 Carrera can be ordered as a Coupe, Targa or Cabriolet. At Porsche, excellence is expected. For the name of your nearest Porsche Audi dealer call (800) 447-4700 toll-free.

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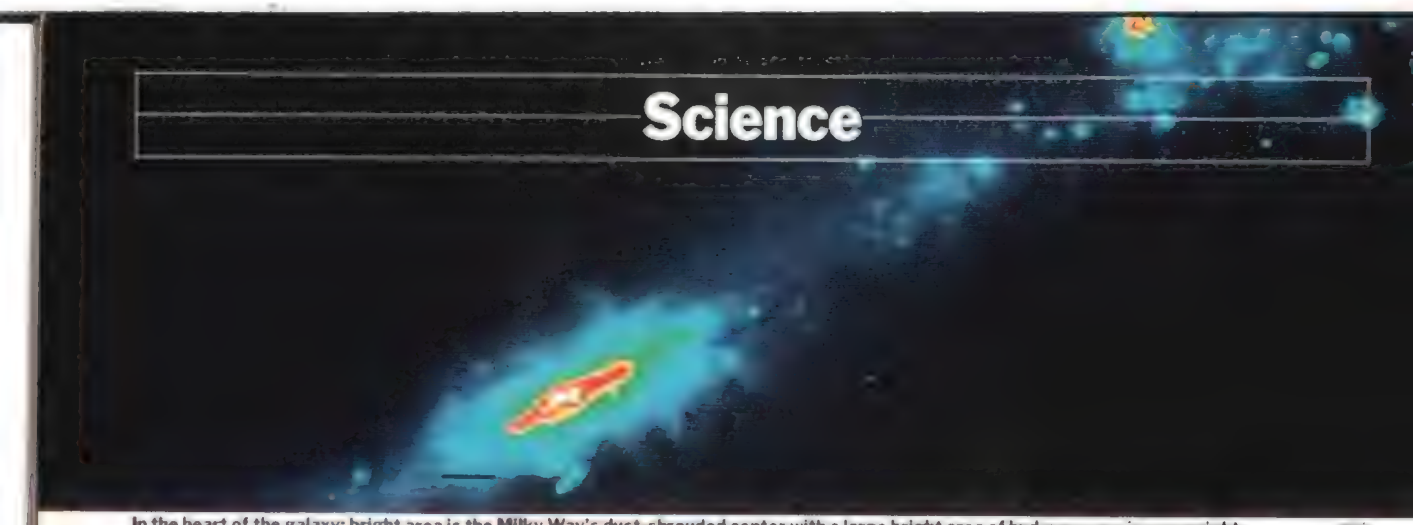
*EPA est. 20 mpg, 32 hwy. (Use "estimated mpg" for comparison. Mileage varies with speed, trip length, weather. Actual highway mileage will probably be less.) Obey your speed laws. © 1983 Porsche Audi



In the heart of the galaxy: bright area is the Milky Way's dust-shrouded center with a large bright area of hydrogen gas in upper right

Spectacular Shots in the Dark

Some out-of-this-world surprises from an infrared satellite

For ten months, the 2,249-lb. satellite has been tirelessly circling the earth, speeding from pole to pole once every 103 minutes at an altitude of 563 miles. Unlike most satellites, it has kept its eyes not on the earth below but on the vast expanses of the universe. During each orbit it surveys a different slice of the sky, obtaining a nearly complete picture of the heavens. Last week, at a jubilant press conference in Washington, D.C., the multinational team of scientists and engineers responsible for the orbital telescope known as IRAS (for Infrared Astronomical Satellite) reported that they had succeeded beyond all expectations. As proof, they released some spectacular images, including a picture of the center of the Milky Way

What makes the views from IRAS so unusual is that they provide the first look at a hitherto invisible world. Before IRAS, telescopes placed aboard spacecraft gathered either conventional "visible" light, in the range of the human eye, or higher-frequency ultraviolet radiation, X rays and gamma rays. IRAS, by contrast, operates at the other end of the electromagnetic spectrum: it "sees" in the dark by detecting the long waves of infrared radiation, or heat. Since water vapor in the earth's atmosphere soaks up most infrared radiation from space, such observations until now could only be made in a limited way from aircraft, balloons or extremely high-altitude observatories.

Launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California last January, the $250 million observatory, which was built jointly by the U.S and The Netherlands, has completed four separate surveys of virtually the entire sky. During these sweeps, IRAS's 22.4-in. mirror and electronic sensors, which are chilled by liquid helium to nearly 4° above absolute zero (−459.7° F) so that their own heat will not impede observations, picked up infrared emissions from more than 200,000 sources. Most of these celestial pinpoints are much too cool to have been recorded by conventional telescopes. Many are extremely dim young stars, just beginning to be stoked by their nuclear fires. Others are distant galaxies, perhaps millions or even billions of light-years away

Nearer to earth, IRAS identified at least five new comets and spotted a "miniplanet" only 1.2 miles in diameter, possibly the cadaver of a comet, circling within the orbit of the innermost planet, Mercury. IRAS also uncovered some bands of fine dust spread over 100 million miles in the asteroid belt between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter. The dust may be the debris of collisions between asteroids.

As ground-based computers reconstructed artificially tinted images from the flood of data radioed by IRAS to a British receiving station, the discoveries that most astonished astronomers came from beyond our solar system. IRAS's scientists had previously reported finding a shell of material around the bright star Vega. They thought it might be a sign of a solar system in the making, as well as the first tangible evidence that other stars may have planets. Last week the researchers reported that IRAS had identified as many as 50 stars with possible planetary systems. One especially curious husk of material was found in the constellation Orion around Betelgeuse, a red supergiant star that is 730 times as large as the sun. Normally such ancient stars, agitated by violent death spasms, throw off a cover of gases. But since this shell only half-circles the star, the debris may have been swept up by Betelgeuse as it traveled through a cloud of interstellar dust and gases.

Gases in the Orion constellation are regions of star birth

Indeed, one of the most surprising conclusions from the IRAS scan is just how dirty the universe is. Long, wispy "cirrus" clouds of dust, as the astronomers called them, were found swirling throughout interstellar space. Since such debris is the breeding ground of new stars, the discovery suggests that the rate of star formation may be much greater than astronomers had supposed, perhaps as high as one a year in our own 10 billion-year-old Milky Way galaxy. This also suggests that the birth of stars like the sun, along with the life-supporting planets that may surround them, could well be a commonplace galactic event. —*By Frederic Golden. Reported by Jerry Hannifin/Washington*

Easing Women's Constant Fear

Breast-cancer patients can face a future without disfigurement

At some point in her life, one out of eleven American women will be told she has breast cancer. The dread of this moment is perhaps the single biggest fear that women have about their health. For Nina Miller, 42, of Santa Cruz, Calif., it happened two years ago. Her reaction was typical: "Total hysteria. My only thought was, they're going to mutilate my body, and then I'm going to die." But Miller has lost neither her life nor her breast. Like a small but growing number of breast-cancer patients in the U.S., she avoided a mastectomy and instead was treated with a simple removal of the breast lump (lumpectomy) followed by radiation therapy.

Until recently, such breast-sparing techniques were universally considered to be inadequate and dangerous. Today, the evidence is to the contrary. Last month, at a meeting at the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, Md., noted Italian Oncologist Umberto Veronesi presented the results of a landmark ten-year study comparing survival after a mastectomy with survival following a less disfiguring operation called quadrectomy (*see diagram*). His conclusion: "There is absolutely no difference."

Veronesi, who heads Milan's respected National Cancer Institute, bases his conclusion on the treatment and follow-up of 700 Italian patients. Half were treated with a mastectomy and half with a quadrectomy, plus radiation if the malignancy extended to lymph nodes under the arm. All of the women in the study had a very early stage of breast cancer, with tumors measuring less than three-quarters of an inch in diameter. A decade after treatment, 96% of the women in both groups were alive and apparently healthy. Significantly, the study defied the longstanding dictum that anything short of a mastectomy increases the risk that cancer will recur. In fact, the incidence of tumor recurrence was the same in both groups: less than 5%. Said Dr. Bernard Fisher, chief breast cancer surgeon at the University of Pittsburgh: "This makes it awfully hard to justify the radical mastectomy."

Fisher is one of a small number of American medical dissidents who have long opposed the indiscriminate use of mastectomies for breast-cancer patients. At a recent conference in Venice, Italy, sponsored by Bristol-Myers, he and a number of other U.S. doctors reported on their successes with more limited treatment. According to Dr. Samuel Hellman, physician in chief of New York's Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, even patients with tumors as large as two inches in diameter may require nothing more than a lumpectomy followed by radiation. Though this approach involves removing even less tissue than Veronesi's method does, the results with some 350 patients seem to be just as good. Moreover, Hellman notes, the physical appearance of the treated breast is "good to excellent" in four out of five patients.

Despite the persuasive force of these studies, Hellman admits, "the consensus among U.S. physicians is still in favor of mastectomy." Indeed, his own institution, Sloan-Kettering, has long been a bastion of radical surgery. A survey conducted in 1980-81 by the National Cancer Institute found that 80% of breast cancer patients in Atlanta and Detroit were being treated with a modified radical mastectomy, an operation in which the breast and some chest muscle are removed. Up to 5% were still being treated with the old-style radical mastectomy, in which so much pectoral muscle is removed that arm motion may be limited for life. Only 7% of patients in Atlanta and 10.8% in Detroit had received a lumpectomy, a quadrectomy, or some other form of breast-sparing surgery.

Many physicians have resisted the new techniques because they fear that without mastectomy cancer will be more likely to recur and more patients will die. The ten-year Italian results may convert the skeptics, although Veronesi warns, "Next the surgeons are going to want to see the 15-year outcome, and then the 20."

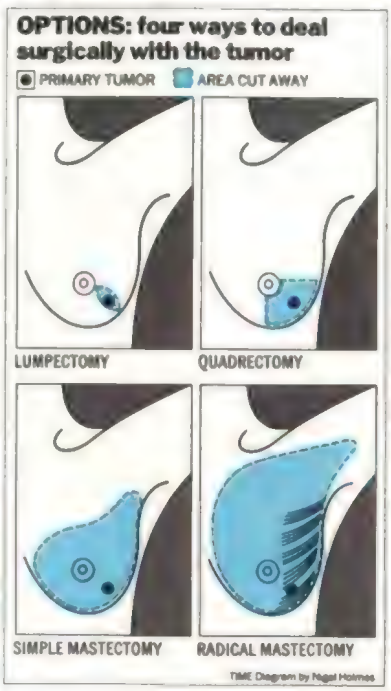
Because the mastectomy is so firmly entrenched in American medicine, many breast-cancer patients are never told about the alternatives. To remedy this, California, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Hawaii and Wisconsin have passed laws that specifically require doctors to inform patients of options in treatment before a final decision is made. Even so, reports Hellman, the various approaches are generally offered with "varying degrees of enthusiasm, depending on the physician."

The best candidates for a lumpectomy are women with small tumors that have not yet spread. Most doctors also prescribe additional treatment, with radiation, as a precaution against tumor recurrence. For women with a small degree of spreading (measured by counting the number of malignant lymph nodes), radiation treatment is strongly recommended. Women with more extensive spreading may also be candidates for a lumpectomy, but for these patients chemotherapy might be used as an added safeguard. According to Veronesi's colleague, Dr. Gianni Bonadonna, a leading authority on chemotherapy, there is really only one reason for a complete mastectomy: when the tumor is so large that it fills one-third or more of the breast. In that case, he asks, "What would you be leaving behind?"

The key to getting by with less surgery, and improving the chances for survival, is early detection of the disease: eight out of ten women treated for the incipient stage of breast cancer, known as stage 1, survive for ten years or more; the percentages drop off sharply with later detection.

Because the risk of breast malignancy increases with age, the American Cancer Society has for nearly a decade urged women 50 and over to have their breasts X-rayed annually. This summer, the A.C.S. revised its recommendation to include women age 40 through 49, citing the improved accuracy and safety of low-dose mammography. The first line of defense for women of all ages, however, is self-examination. In 1970 only 25% of breast tumors were detected at stage 1. By 1980, as more women learned how to examine their breasts, the proportion had grown to 60%.

Despite the success rates for early detection of tumors, many women are so terrified by the prospect of a mastectomy that they delay treatment. As former Patient Judy Feinman, 46, puts it: "I knew there was something wrong, but I just didn't want to face it." Perhaps, says Bonadonna, the availability of less disfiguring treatments will lead to less procrastination. "Women will realize that if they come in early, they will not be punished by the removal of a breast." —*By Claudia Wallis. Reported by Mary Carpenter/Venice and Carol Foote/Santa Cruz*



The Old Cuisine Wins New Allure

Mother's cooking goes to the head of the table

The best cookbooks are much more than collections of recipes. They involve the history, economics, technology, climate, social order and religion that shape a nation's cooking. This concern with context is evident in the major cookbooks of the past few years, in which origins are sought out, variations explored and invention honored. At the same time, they have marked a retreat from the ostentatious extremes of "new" cuisines, from what Author Paula Wolfert calls "front of the mouth" food. "Though these dishes may appeal to the tips of our tongues," she maintains, "there is no real depth to them, and not much desire to eat them again." Wolfert and other notable cookbook authors in the past year or so have shown less interest in revolutionary recipes than in what the French call "Mother's cooking."

In *The Cooking of South-West France* (Dial; $24.95), Wolfert presents the first up-to-date comprehensive study of this exemplary but little-known cuisine. She calls it "a magnificent peasant cookery in the process of being updated . . . modern, honest, yet still close to the earth." An inventive cook and author of two classic books, *Couscous and Other Good Food from Morocco* and *Mediterranean Cooking*, Wolfert found herself committed to "a passionate long-term enterprise" that took five years to complete.

Though relatively poor, France's *sud-ouest* is blessed with some of Europe's greatest culinary riches: the truffles of Périgord, Bayonne ham, Roquefort cheese, Armagnac, walnuts, chestnuts, wild mushrooms, vast amounts of poultry and pork. It is the principal home of *foie gras* and boasts more than 100 hot and cold dishes based on duck or goose liver, some accented with sauerkraut, seaweed, prunes and green grapes. Duck is to the southwest what steak is to Texas, observes Wolfert, whose 30 or so recipes for the bird range from duck sausage with green apples and chestnuts to duck breasts with capers and marrow. Above all, the region is unified in its passion for *confits*, or preserved meats.

The most celebrated dish of the southwest is cassoulet, a concoction of meat and dried beans that is the subject of as many variations and arguments as bouillabaisse or chili. After tasting dozens of versions, the author found the ultimate cassoulet at the Hôtel de France in Auch, prepared by the celebrated Gascon chef André Daguin. Made with fresh fava beans and *confit* of duck, it is a contrast in flavors and textures that struck her as nothing less than "a miracle." American cooks should be equally impressed

Wolfert believes that the southwest has more varieties of soup than all the rest of France. The greatest, though little known outside the region, is *garbure*, a creation of cabbage, beans, salt pork and endless embellishments. In Wolfert's interpretation it becomes a thick stew enriched with preserved duck or goose, ham hock and garlic sausage. Among other distinctive potages, she stirs up a modern version of a traditional Basque soup called *ttoro* and an oyster *velouté* with black caviar made from Gironde River sturgeon.

Wolfert confesses that she has "always been seduced by dishes off the beaten track," and prepares such southwest enticements as scallops in tangerine sauce, straw potato cake stuffed with braised leeks, compote of rabbit with prunes, trout with mountain-cured ham and bacon, mint parfait filled with chocolate mousse, roast figs, priest's omelet (a not so monastic dish with livers, kidneys, mushrooms and Madeira) and Catalan salad; the latter is described by one writer as being "like a Spanish inn. It accepts everyone and everything it can hold." The words apply equally well to this entire regional cuisine. Wolfert has preserved it magically, like a *confit* between covers.

The ever evolving nature of eating and entertaining is the theme of Eliane Amé-Leroy Carley's *Classics from a French Kitchen* (Crown; $24.95). A niece of the eminent French historian Maxime Leroy, Carley spent 14 years researching gastronomic lore. She brings a wealth of anecdote and historic insight to her urbane collection of more than 300 recipes, some of which were given to her mother by the great Auguste Escoffier. They are not the oversauced, cholesterol-laden dishes usually associated with *haute cuisine*, but rather a selection of those basic Romano-Gallic admixtures of flavor, ingenuity and stirring skills that date at least as far back as the first recorded omelet (said to have been whipped up by Lucullus from an ostrich egg in 90 B.C.).

Carley's recipes are uncomplicated and easy to prepare, thanks to meticulous instructions and many of what the French call *trucs*, or tips; for example, stirring in cornstarch or arrowroot to ensure curdle-proof hollandaise sauce. She lives in the U.S. and prescribes no ingredients that

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are not easily available. *Classics* includes eleven sole dishes, more than 20 soups and some 40 sauces. Highlights: veal provençale in aspic; cabbage leaves stuffed with ham, chestnuts and cream; noisettes of pork with prunes and cream; Jean-Jacques Rousseau's beef daube; soufflé crêpes with Grand Marnier; molded raspberry ice cream; and *the* authentic French fries (they must be fried twice).

Charming as well as practical, *Classics* contains a bouillabaisse of historical tidbits. Charles de Gaulle, for instance, was so fond of soup that he insisted on a different one each day; he also once demanded: "How can you govern a country that has 346 cheeses?" Here is Victor Hugo on turkey: "This is a ridiculous animal. There is maybe a little too much for one, but certainly not enough for two!" As early as 1653, Cookbook Author François Pierre de La Varenne noted 16 recipes for scrambled eggs. For centuries, until the 18th, royal and upper-class meals were always accompanied by singing. It was called *vaudeville*.

Virtually all of the world's distinctive cuisines boast soups and stews worth singing about. With some great dishes, such as minestrone, couscous, Belgian *waterzooie* and Greek *soúppa pashalini*, it is hard to say where soup ends and stew begins. Whatever their appellations, they rate star billing at today's dinner table. These body- and soul-warming concoctions are appetizingly assembled by Dorothy Ivens in *Main-Course Soups and Stews* (Harper & Row; $15.95), along with appropriate menus in which to lodge them.

Some of the most satisfying of all supersoups are American: New England chowders, Louisiana gumbo, Philadelphia pepper pot, California cioppino, for which Ivens has traditional prescriptions. Ivens also contributes such variants as lamb and split pea soup (adding a Middle Eastern flavor with mint, dill and yogurt), a soup of short ribs and lentils, and another made with beef and beans. A summer classic rarely seen on U.S. menus is Portugal's *caldo verde*, a delicate blend of kale, potatoes and sausage. One chapter is devoted to vegetable potages, including the *soupe au pistou* of southern France, Italian garbanzo and pasta soup, and gazpacho. Fish soups include a spicy Peruvian chowder, Italian *zuppa di pesce*, and a Mediterranean concoction flavored with Pernod, as well as an elegant oyster stew and a striped-bass offering from Manhattan.

Ivens, who wrote the excellent *Glorious Stew*, whisks with authority through the steamy world of *navarin, khoreshe, blanquette*, ragout, jambalaya, *estouffade, carbonada, collops* and *pot-au-feu*. She presents Italian, French and Viennese versions of Hungarian goulash, "five fragrances" stew from China, and two savory South American specialties: *puchero criolla*, a Latin version of New England boiled dinner, and *carbonada criolla*, beef stew served in a pumpkin. One notable entry is a veal stew from Jerez, Spain's sherry capital, redolent of *fino;* a dish from Italy is called *maiale affogato*, meaning drowned pork, in white wine and chicken broth. Lamb stews, to many are the most glorious of all. *Main-Course* selections worth adding to the cook's repertoire include an exotic Persian-style *khoreshe* with dried fruits, nuts and split peas; Italian *abbacchio alla ciociara*, in which the lamb is braised in cognac with ham; and Greek *arni prassa*, flavored with foaming egg and lemon stirred in at the last minute. Ivens covers the casserole front with duck stews, chicken stews, rabbit stews and even some surprisingly tasty vegetable stews. All that seem missing from this superb compendium are Lancashire hot pot and Scottish cockaleekie.

But hold the stew! Can the soup! The name of Carol Cutler's new cookbook says it all: *Pâté, the New Main Course for the '80s* (Rawson; $14.95). Cutler, who is chief American consultant for TIME-LIFE Books' Good Cook series and the author of three previous cookbooks, maintains that most pâtés and terrines (the terms here are used almost interchangeably) are too filling, too important to serve as a first course. And she effectively demolishes the myths that they are fattening, costly and difficult to make. Pâtés have another great virtue in the age of rush: they must be completely prepared in advance, eliminating last-minute booboos, and actually improve with a few days' aging. "A pâté," according to Cutler, "is nothing more than a French meat loaf that's had a couple of cocktails."

Here the panoply ranges from cottage-plain to Maxim's-fancy, blue-jeans casual to black-tie serious. A brunch solution is smoked haddock pâté with gingered tomato relish. For a hot-weather surprise, there is a chicken in lemon aspic; for a winter warmer, a classic French country pâté. There are individual hot pâtés in pastry, one made with crab, another with carrots, and a tricolor fish terrine. Since most main-course pâtés are served cold, they demand a reordering of menus, which Cutler does imaginatively. Indeed, the supporting dishes she suggests are often as tempting as the main event. They include cauliflower with shrimp sauce, pear gratin, mushroom flan, mango sherbet, gratinéed blueberries, chocolate omelet, hot banana puffs and icy oranges with hot orange-ginger sauce. One menu, featuring shrimp with Pernod, a grand veal and ham pâté en croûte, and honeydew balls in strawberry sauce, would make a fine if unorthodox dinner for Thanksgiving or Christmas.

Indian cuisine, one of the world's richest, is poorly represented in print and on restaurant row. So voyage to India with Madhur Jaffrey and *Indian Cooking* (Barron's; $7.95). The Delhi-born actress, who won wide acclaim in Britain with a BBC series on which this book is based, traces the varied outside influences—Mogul, Portuguese, British—as well as regional and religious traditions that have formed the subcontinent's unique culinary character. Its only common denominator is the symphonic interweaving of spices, seasonings and flavorings.

Jaffrey observes that many of the techniques used in *nouvelle cuisine* have been commonplace in India for centuries. The dark sauces, for example, are seldom thickened with flour, but with onions, garlic, ginger, yogurt and tomatoes. Her book lists a subtle series of inviting vegetable preparations that could well accompany Western dishes: mushrooms and potatoes cooked with garlic and ginger, spicy green beans, sweet and sour okra, eggplant "cooked in pickling style." Better yet, serve them with the great main dishes of India. Memorable recipes, including several in which lamb replaces hard-to-find goat, range from Persian-derived *shahi korma* ("royal" lamb or beef with a creamy almond sauce) to Kashmiri red lamb stew. Other party entrées include *Mughlai* lamb-and-rice casserole, chicken with almonds and sultanas, and easy-to-make haddock baked in yogurt sauce. Jaffrey describes a technique by which the home cook can simulate the tandoori-style dishes offered by so many Indian restaurants without investing in the expense of a clay oven. And she has the definitive recipe (among dozens) for mulli-

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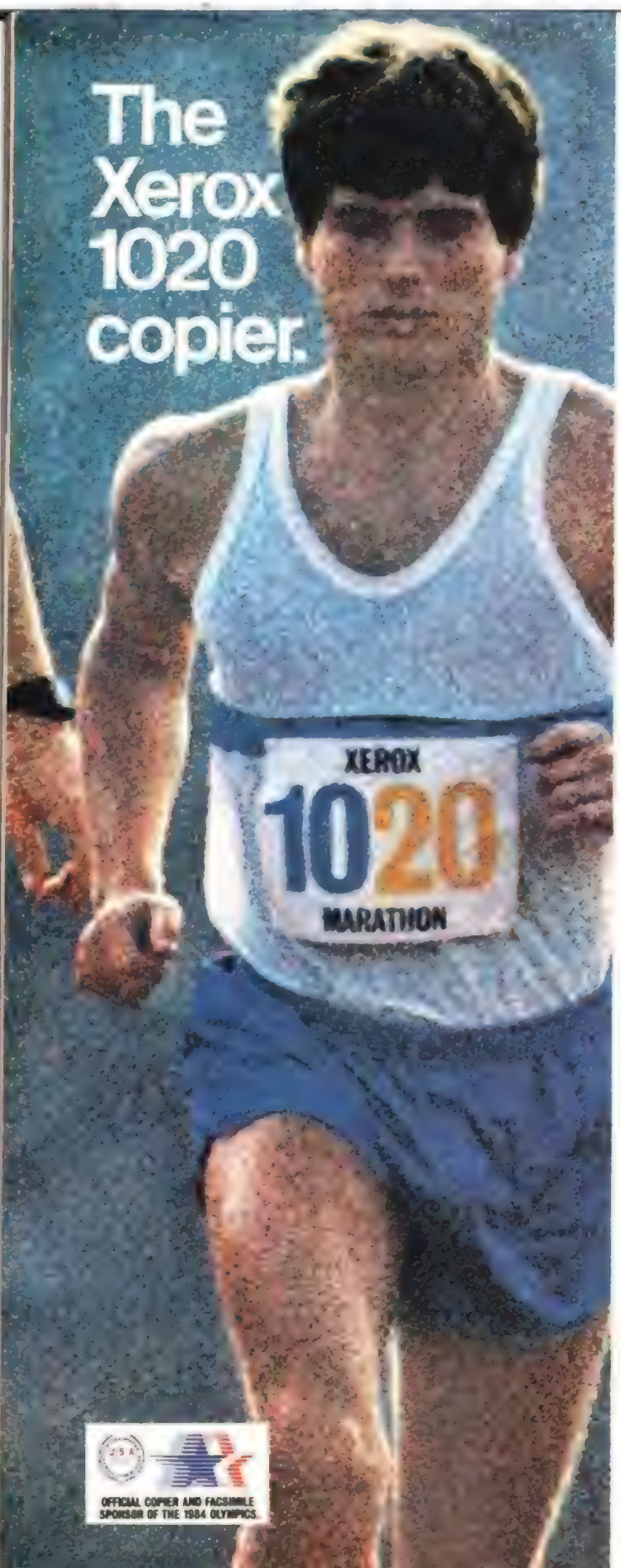

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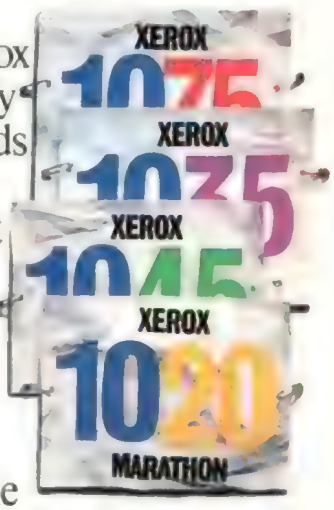

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Books

gatawny, the classic Anglo-Indian soup.

Some of the rice dishes in *Indian Cooking* are irresistible. The toothsome Indian breads are well represented, as are chutneys, relishes and pickles. Interestingly, the word curry—an English coinage—does not occur once in this book.

While American restaurant food is now the world's most cosmopolitan, a Russian meal is almost as hard to buy in the U.S. as a Big Mac in Dnepropetrovsk. This vacuum can be filled by the home cook, with lively guidance from Darra Goldstein's delightful *A la Russe* (Random House; $16.95). The 15 Soviet republics have an extraordinarily diverse cuisine, embracing the cookery of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, representing regions from the Black Sea to the Arctic Circle, reflecting tsarist extravagance and peasant reality. (Goldstein will follow a recipe for sturgeon soup with champagne, a favorite of Catherine the Great, with *ukha*, a fisherman's broth.) The author learned many dishes from her grandmother, an émigré from Byelorussia; and in her great-grandfather's butcher shop, she writes, "Marc Chagall played as a child." An assistant professor of Russian literature at Williams College, she has also feasted on native fare as a student in Leningrad and as a guide for a traveling U.S. Department of Agriculture exhibit. Goldstein reports that despite numbing food shortages, "the art of Russian cooking is still thriving."

Goldstein's *A la Russe* brings alive many of the mouth-watering meals of Russian literature, like the robust soups and breads of Gogol's Ukrainian tales. Borsch, the rich beet soup considered typically Russian, is actually native to the Ukraine, which boasts 100 varieties; included here are a Ukrainian and a Moscow version. The spicy food of Georgia is a prized addition to the blander Russian cuisine, notably *tabaka* (pressed and grilled chicken), as well as the more familiar *shashlyk* from the Caucasus. Among other dishes well known to the West, beef Stroganoff and Russian salad were actually created by French chefs; chicken Kiev, however, was invented in that city long before Moscow became the Soviet capital; Goldstein provides practical recipes for all three.

Specialties that deserve an honorable place on the American table include *kulebyaka*, the glorious salmon pie described by Chekhov as "shameless in its nakedness, a temptation to sin"; *pirozhki*, the more plebeian meat or vegetable pies; kidney and dill pickle soup; Azerbaidzhan lamb patties; veal stew with cherries; Ukrainian honey cake; *smetannik*, a rich pie of sour cream, jam and nuts; and the celebrated *Guriev kasha*, a thickened compote of brandied fruits. To round out a Russian banquet, Goldstein provides instructions for a dozen deliciously flavored vodkas, and with them a toast to the meal: *Eshte, eshte na zdorovye!* Eat, eat to your health!

—*By Michael Demarest*

Barbra as Yentl as Anshel: transforming a folk tale into a bittersweet fairy tale

Toot, Toot, Tootseleh

YENTL *directed by Barbra Streisand*
Screenplay by Jack Rosenthal and Barbra Streisand

The Jews have a word for what it took to make this movie: chutzpah. Barbra Streisand—the producer, director, co-writer and star of *Yentl*—spent 15 years turning Isaac Bashevis Singer's 20-page story *Yentl, the Yeshiva Boy* into a 2-hr. 15-min. musical extravaganza. At 41, she dares to impersonate a Lithuanian girleen. She has twisted Singer's story—of a studious imp who dresses up as a boy and contrives to marry her best friend's fiancée—into a moral tale about three victims of circumstance and prejudice. She has found in this faraway fable aspects of her own autobiography, and made *Yentl* a metaphor for the long struggle of womankind to emerge into the lonely splendor that is Streisand. For her male co-star she hired Mandy Patinkin, who has wrapped his crystalline Broadway tenor voice around Sondheim and Andrew Lloyd Webber, then gave him no songs to sing; all eleven are Streisand solos. And she has inflated the production values until the humblest shtetl looks grand enough to house the Scarsdale Hadassah. Chutzpah, folks.

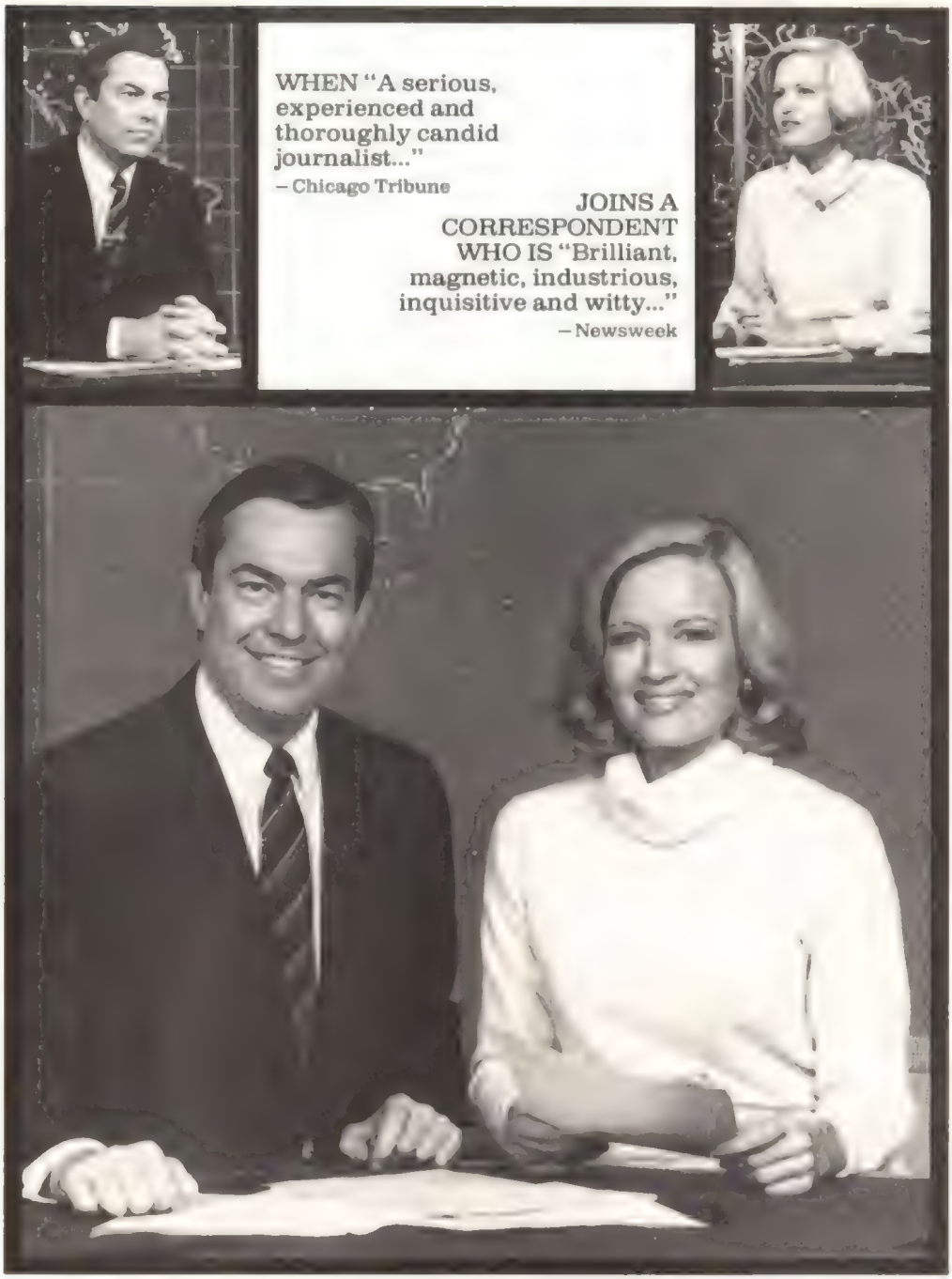
Streisand first read the Singer story in 1968, the year of her *Funny Girl* movie debut, and the single-minded passion that she brought to the project encourages skepticism. Like Streisand and the character she plays, *Yentl* is indeed aggressive, exotic, oversize, polarizing. No one is likely to react indifferently to this one-woman band. But as the long, lush picture gains momentum and confidence, it admits the viewer to a beguiling world where emotions can bubble out of low comedy, where familial friendship and carnal love intersect, where the dead exert their tenacious influence on the living, and a folk tale can transform itself into a bittersweet fairy tale. With *Yentl*, Streisand has gone for the emotional goods—to create a sweeping musical drama out of a tiny romantic triangle—and, miracle of miracles, she has delivered them.

"In a time when the world of study belonged only to men, there lived a girl called Yentl. Eastern Europe, 1904." A shy, clumsy thing with a burning intelligence, Yentl breaks Hebrew tradition and is instructed secretly in the Scriptures by her ailing father (Nehemiah Persoff, a grave, endearing patriarch). When he dies, Yentl resolves to fulfill her dream of studying at a yeshiva. She cuts her hair, dons a suit and strikes out on her own, calling herself "Anshel." Her new study partner is a handsome rabbinical student, Avigdor (Patinkin), for whom the Talmud holds all life's answers: it is like a beautiful, inscrutable woman who must be appraised, wooed, conquered. Avigdor's fiancée Hadass (Amy Irving) is beautiful too, and when her family forces him to break off the engagement, Avigdor persuades Anshel to ask for Hadass's hand. Having stepped into the breeches, Yentl now steps into the breach: she marries Hadass. Avigdor still loves Hadass but is strangely drawn to Anshel; Hadass is trying to divert her love from her former fiancé to her new husband. And Yentl is desperately juggling the conflicting passions she feels for her wife and her would-be lover.

In outline, this sounds like a ghetto translation of sex-reversal farce: Tevye meets Tootsie. *Yentl* mines much judicious merriment from the plight of a girl who wants to prove herself a man but is in love with a man who's in love with the girl she has married. But there are sweet and subtle tones to the comedy. In three versions of the song *No Wonder*, Yentl muses in derision, then in awe, then in sympathy, on Hadass's domestic graces. Composer Michel Legrand and Lyricists Marilyn and Alan Bergman have constructed the score as Yentl's running Talmudic commentary on the genesis of her womanly desires. (That's why Patinkin doesn't sing.) The songs begin in a liturgical mode, heavy on recitative and minor chords. As Yentl enters the real world of passion and deceit, the melodies become more secular, and by midpoint, when Yentl's thoughts turn from intellectual to sexual love, the songs are swimming strongly in the American pop mainstream. It is the most romantic, coherent and sophisticated original movie score since *Gigi* a quarter-century ago; and its treacherous glissandi and searching wit find their ideal interpreter in Streisand's incredible Flexible Flyer of a voice. After two decades of hard work, that voice is still as smooth as mercury poured over dry ice.

Yentl is a big, good-looking movie with only three main characters—a chamber piece played in a Crystal Palace that shivers in the soft focus of sexual ambiguity. As director, Streisand has seen to it that Yentl and Avigdor and Hadass don't get lost in the sumptuous locations and somber, classical *mise en scène*. Patinkin has harnessed his talent and energy; he can bounce off a bookcase in the thrall of scholarship, or sit tense and still as Avigdor tries to figure out the riddle of Anshel's identity. Amy Irving, of the honeyed voice and witchcrafty allure, makes the role of an old-fashioned woman sexy and smart. And Streisand has fun playing a woman out of her time, a figure of both feminism and fun. In rabbinical drag she could pass for the comic David Brenner; in the tender scenes with Irving, she is the sassy Brooklyn girl coming to appreciate a Jewish Lithuanian princess.

Forget that *Yentl* is set in Eastern Europe. The film's true locus is the mind of Barbra Streisand, where the familiar conventions of the musical mix easily with the private compulsions of a born-again Jew who happens to be a Hollywood hot shot. On the evidence of *Yentl*, she has been other women as well: the adoring child listening to her papa, and now telling him what she has learned; the gawky teen-ager eyeing her less gifted rivals; the budding artist stretching the limits of craft and ego; the novice director showing tact and assurance behind the camera; the successful career woman using her power to realize a dream. Three cheers for chutzpah! —*By Richard Corliss*



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Essay

Ghosts (Or: Does History Repeat?)

It is not easy to draw a straight line between Lebanon and Grenada. Yet both President Reagan and his critics have managed the feat. For the President, what connects the two points is a malevolent Soviet presence that seeks to turn trouble into opportunity. For the critics it is a trigger-happy, blustering President who turns diplomatic problems into shooting wars.

It is easier to draw a line between the President and his critics. They are joined by a common fear: that history will repeat itself. They disagree as to precisely what history is about to be repeated, but everyone is quick to raise the specter of the return of some dreaded "another." The critics see another Viet Nam here, another round of gunboat diplomacy (carried out by another Teddy Roosevelt) there. Administration officials are quoted as explaining that the Grenada invasion was meant variously to prevent "another Iran," "another Beirut"(!), "another Nicaragua" or "another Suriname." (There is irony here. Suriname had fallen under Cuban influence after a recent military takeover. The day after the Grenada invasion, Suriname expelled the Cuban ambassador and practically every Cuban adviser in the country—out of fear of becoming "another Grenada.") Perhaps it was the enormity of the loss in Beirut or the suddenness of the invasion of Grenada. For whatever reason, the past several weeks have seen the worst outbreak in memory of the "another" syndrome.

When Psychiatrist Harry Stack Sullivan saw this kind of repetition neurosis, he called it parataxic distortion. We call it learning from history. With a dutiful invocation of Santayana's banality about those doomed to repeat the past, we have permitted the ghosts of history to enter our debates and to control them.

American servicemen are dying abroad, and the air is filled with metaphors. Like all the code words of ideological warfare, such metaphors are more than mere shorthand. They are used to prevent thought. They do so by instantly conjuring up a whole complex of circumstances and feelings to be drawn automatically from one situation and plugged into another. For "another Iran," read: hostages, helplessness, humiliation. For "another Cuba," read: adventurism, revolution, proxy mischief. For "another Afghanistan," read: imperialism, superpower bullying, disrespect for the rule of law. (For "another Nicaragua," see "another Cuba," above.)

Grenada, now the metaphorical capital of the world, has been compared by one side or the other with all of these and more. The real Grenada is none of the above. The upheaval there was not, as it was in Iran, a xenophobic religious revolution that saw in every American an agent of Satan and a spy. Grenada was not, like Cuba or Nicaragua, a regional power that could project real force against its neighbors (though it would still be valuable to a great power as a staging point; in this respect it resembled, if anything, other useful dots on the map like Iwo Jima in 1945 or Diego Garcia today). And the only parallel to Afghanistan is that there too a superpower threw out a bloody and brutal dictatorship. In Afghanistan, however, the Soviets installed an equally bloody and brutal substitute, and have spent the past four years killing Afghans to keep it in power.

Grenadian reality is far less exotic. It takes a citizen of the Caribbean, more in control of his historical imagination and more in command of the facts on the ground, to see Grenada for what it is. Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga, no Teddy Roosevelt he, contributed troops to the Grenadian invasion force. His concern was not that Grenada was recapitulating any past disaster; on the contrary, it was creating for the islands of the English-speaking Caribbean a wholly new one. Military juntas and large armies are alien to the region, he explained. The largest army in the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States is 200; Grenada's was nearly 2,000. Nor does the region have a history of bloody coups or the placing of an entire population under house arrest. Jamaica and its allied democracies were reacting not to a paradigm but to an anomaly.

Anomaly is the stuff of history. Aristotle taught that while poetry speaks in universals, history speaks in particulars. But those who deal in historical metaphor have no interest in particulars. Their interest is political combat, and their purpose is not description but prediction and, ultimately, prescription. To say that situation A is really a reprise of B is to say that A will end up like B—unless one follows certain advice. The advice is invariably and immediately forthcoming.

For example, what do you do if you would like to see the immediate withdrawal of American troops from A, any A, but do not want to be bothered with arguing the merits of the case? You do what Congressman Sam Gibbons did shortly after the Marine massacre in Beirut. He stood on the floor of the House and declared: "I only have three words to say: Lebanon—Reagan's Viet Nam." He then sat down. He was sure he had said enough. And in a way he had. Viet Nam is the ultimate buzz word in the American political lexicon, a form of telegraphic speech so laden with ominous meaning that it is assumed to speak volumes. Gibbons' declaration was as revealing as it was brief. For weeks Viet Nam has haunted the debate over Lebanon. But it was not until after the bombing of the Marine barracks that the full weight of the Viet Nam analogy fell on Lebanon.

And not by accident. Those who sent the suicide bomber crashing into Marine headquarters were staging an attack, a kind of one-man Tet offensive designed to revive the feelings of demoralization that precede withdrawal. For the power of the Viet Nam memory is well known, even among those not steeped in American history. Druze Leader Walid Jumblatt, for one, has no trouble recalling and manipulating it. Jumblatt, who can be best described as a minor local chieftan, has found that he can puff himself up on American television, warn Americans to remember Viet Nam before daring to challenge him—and be taken seriously.

It is not a serious comparison. Jumblatt has perhaps 30,000

Illustrations for TIME by David Suter

Essay

tribesmen under his command. General Giap had half a million. Two decades ago we may have mistaken Hanoi for a fifth-rate power. Now we recognize that its talent for militarizing society, a talent it shares with other Leninist states, enabled it to achieve the status of a regional superpower. (Today it has the fifth largest armed force in the world.) Jumblatt is at most a small counter on a much larger board.

This is not to say that American policy in Lebanon might not fail. It is to say that if it does, it will fail on its own terms. There will be no decade-long war of attrition in a tropical jungle against a unified enemy with a long history of successful anticolonial warfare. That was the last war, though the politicians (not the generals this time) are busy preparing for it still. In Lebanon everything is different: the terrain, the players, the tactics, the goals and the intentions of American leaders. But we disdain mundane details like history, geography and strategy. Viet Nam is everywhere. Every exercise in what used to be called containment—55 advisers in El Salvador, for example—is now called "another Viet Nam." If the Grenada operation had lasted more than a week, one can be sure the dreaded memory would have been hauled out yet again. Che Guevara once promised two, three (American radicals added "many") Viet Nams. He went to Bolivia to get things started, but got himself killed instead. And yet our haunted imaginations have produced more Viet Nams than Che could have dreamed of.

Past may be prologue but it is not destiny. The central fallacy of the metaphor mongers is to assume—against history—that

history repeats itself; to assume that superficially similar conditions produce identical development. Consider Iran. Ever since the fall of the Shah we have been waiting for other Irans to happen (for the other Shah to drop, as it were). There have been a variety of candidates, from Saudi Arabia to Mexico, none of which has panned out. The Great White Hope of the theory was Sadat's Egypt. Here was another autocratic, modernizing, pro-Western leader, arrogantly inattentive to the stirrings of his Muslim countrymen. Indeed Sadat was assassinated. Yet after him, no deluge.

No matter: new Irans will keep popping up (in our minds) regardless. The empirical world can do little to dampen the appeal of metaphor, since it deals in what Historian Michael Oakeshott calls "practical" or "didactic history," a species of pseudo history in which what passes for analysis is the waving of icons.

The fact is that Egypt is not Iran, the West is not Rome, Israel is not a crusader state, and KAL 007—despite the public fretting of Professor Stanley Hoffmann—was not Sarajevo. Nor was Saigon, as we once thought, Munich. The real "lesson" of Viet Nam is not, as we are so often told, that everything from Central America to the Middle East is Viet Nam (or some other convenient fiasco). It is that facile historical analogies can prove fatal.

"What experience and history teach is this," said Hegel, "that people and governments never have learned anything from history." At times like these, amid the din of clanging metaphors, one almost wishes he were right. —*By Charles Krauthammer*

Milestones

ENGAGED. George Abbott, 96, venerable Broadway author and director who contributed to yet another hit this year, the Tony Award–winning revival of *On Your Toes;* and **Joy Moana Valderrama,** 52, Philadelphia furrier. The wedding, planned for later this month, will be his third, her first.

CONVICTED. Angelo Buono Jr., 49, onetime auto upholsterer; of murder in six more of the Hillside strangler sex killings; in Los Angeles. Buono was accused of the 1977-78 slayings of ten young women (ages twelve to 28), most of whom had also been raped or molested. After a two-year trial, he was convicted of two "strangler" murders and acquitted on one of them two weeks ago. At week's end the jury of five men and seven women was still deadlocked over the final murder. But Buono already faces California's death penalty or life imprisonment without possibility of parole.

DIED. Ashley Bailey, 14 months; of biliary atresia, a liver disease; in Fort Worth. In a July radio address, President Reagan appealed for a liver-transplant donor for Ashley. More than 5,000 phone calls resulted, but no compatible liver could be located for the infant. Reagan's appeal, however, has been credited with finding seven donors for other needy patients.

DIED. James Hayden, 29, promising actor of stage and screen; of a heroin overdose; in New York City. In the current Broadway production of David Mamet's *American Buffalo,* Hayden won critical raves for his meticulously wrought portrayal of a confused drug addict. A runaway at 14 from his family's home in Brooklyn, he lived for a time on the streets, served with the Army in Viet Nam, then spent ten years as an actor. His career was set to take off on the strength of *Buffalo,* a critically praised performance last year in a Broadway revival of Arthur Miller's *A View from the Bridge,* and a featured role in the forthcoming movie *Once Upon a Time in America.*

DIED. Lloyd McBride, 67, unassuming president of the United Steelworkers since 1977 who skillfully but futilely fought to salvage the jobs of some 700,000 union members in the fading domestic steel industry; following heart surgery; in Whitehall, Pa. After quitting school at 14, he went to work in a St. Louis foundry for 25¢ an hour, became an active unionist who rose through the ranks and survived a bitter insurgency fight to inherit I.W. Abel's mantle only to see the steelworkers' membership plummet by half during his term from a 1979 high of 1.4 million.

DIED. Alfred Friendly, 71, managing editor of the Washington *Post* from 1955 to 1965; by his own hand (he shot himself apparently because he was suffering from cancer); in Washington, D.C. During his decade as boss of the *Post,* he expanded the paper's parochial "government town" view by increasing international coverage and science reporting. In 1966 Friendly became a roving correspondent and won a Pulitzer Prize for his frontline dispatches during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

DIED. Mordecai Kaplan, 102, founder of the Jewish Reconstructionist movement, which sees Judaism as an evolving civilization and not just as a religion; in New York City. A professor at Manhattan's Jewish Theological Seminary (1909-63), Kaplan was Orthodox by upbringing, but came to believe that Judaism is a synthesis of religion, race and culture. The practical effect of this view was to see the synagogue as a center for Jewish communal life that stressed the humanistic rather than the solely religious aspects of heritage. Kaplan's ideas were viewed as a divisive force by many Orthodox Jews, and in 1945 a panel of Orthodox rabbis issued a religious ban against his Reconstructionist *Sabbath Prayer Book,* which excised references to the Jews as a chosen people and to the divine revelation of the Torah. His influence was widely felt in the Reform and even Conservative branches of the faith, not least in the perception of the role of women; in 1922 Kaplan introduced the bat mitzvah ceremony for 13-year-old girls, giving them a larger role in religious practices.

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